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Historical and political remarks
upon the tariff of the commercial
treaty

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HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL

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COMMERCIAL TREATY:

W I T H

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

L O N D O N:

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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

IT is proposed in the following pages to offer some general observations upon the construction of Treaties, and the qualifications of a Commercial Negotiator ; to point out that revolution in the trading system of Europe, which was effected by an acknowledgment of the independent sovereignty of the United States of Holland at the Treaty of Munster, and to consider the principal variations and improvements since that period, in a deduction of some remarkable facts from the histories of France and England. Such an Inquiry, impartially conducted, may not be thought unseasonable, at a time when the public attention is fixed on an important object so intimately connected with it. The particular reasons for what has been attempted towards changing the form of our present Comimercial Treaty, will hereafter be explained : in the mean while it will appear sufficient justification to alledge, that by varying the situation of a picture, there is sometimes a chance of bringing it into such a light as shall produce a more striking effect, and discover beauties and connections which had before escaped the eye of

the observer. It is hoped, moreover, that this Inquiry will not upon the whole be found less interesting or satisfactory, if, preferring the investigation of truth to the gratification of party, it present itself, at first, under a form seldom adopted in popular treatises.

MAN may be considered as acting both in a natural and in a social capacity. There are certain rights and obligations peculiar to each, of a quality immutable and ~~perceptible~~ insensable. The proper consideration of these, marks out the distinction between the Law of Nature and the Law of Nations; and, at the same time, teaches us, why, though different in their application, they must in their origin be the same. That which in one case is said to be the law of nature, regulating the conduct of individual men, is in the other, only the same law applied to the direction of individual communities. States, thus contemplated, assume the personal properties of men, and may acquire rights, and contract obligations, by express engagements. Hence arises what has been termed, the Conventional Law of nations; which, though capable of being variously modified, and adapt-

to the exigences and characters of particular states, yet springing, as we have seen, from the same pure source, the law of nature must be admitted, like that primary law itself, to bind the faith of societies in public treaties and negotiations.*

Since, then, all those rights, which states derive from the necessary or natural law of nations, become, when thus qualified, the objects of positive convention, the construction of such solemn contracts must surely be a work of great difficulty and importance; requiring, in the negotiator, a singular combination of speculative and experimental sagacity, and, in the contracting parties, a decided love of natural equity, and an inviolable attachment to national faith. Public Treaties, and the persons of Ambassadors, have accordingly been held sacred in all ages and nations; though, as communities are ever actuated by the same passions, and governed by the same principles, as the individuals which compose them, we should not wonder to find them often exposed to corruptions and abuses. Many writers have em-

* PUFFENDORF. *Law of Nature and Nations*, B. II. chap. iii. § 23.

VATTEL. Pref. to *The Law of Nations*.

ployed themselves in tracing these corruptions to their source, in pointing out their fatal consequences, in urging arguments for the necessity of national honour, and in illustrating the duties of feacial magistracy. But, in their reasonings on this subject, they seem to have overlooked a point of no small importance : for, perhaps, it is the remote cause of all those corruptions which we lament. We know, that in private contracts, precision and perspicuity are indispensable ; yet, what is the case with respect to national conventions, which, as they involve the interests and happiness of kingdoms, cannot, either in their arrangement, or their language, be too clear and unequivocal ? We are told of an Italian Politician, who used to boast, that he never spoke on critical conjunctures, but in so equivocal a manner, that his words would bear a double construction : this pernicious sophistry, often unintentionally perhaps, has been suffered too much to prevail in the science of negotiation, and has rendered the style of some public treaties so embarrassed and obscure, and their form so perplexed, and void of design, that it is very difficult to discover their meaning. It has been made an objection to such instruments, that they abound

in needless repetitions, and circuitous phrases; but, in the instance before us, let us consider the solemnity of the compact, and the fatal consequences of its infringement, and we shall allow, that no precaution, which can give new force to the condition, or shut up an avenue to subterfuge, ought to be deemed superfluous. The fault in fact seems to be, that their language is in general too desultory, carrying the affectation of order without its distinctions, and abounding in terms vague and indecisive. The reason is clearly this. Instead of consulting the spirit of the age in which they live, or the character and habits of the states with whom they treat, many negotiators have been content to copy the forms and phrases of their predecessors; which, however apt in their original application, must now necessarily be often used without either meaning or effect*. It is no great recommendation of these forms, that they

* Of this we have striking proofs, whenever any extraordinary occasion has rendered it absolutely necessary for negotiators to leave the beaten track. Compare, with a view to style, the treaties between England and the Cherokee nations; or the kingdoms of Morocco, Tunis, and Algiers, and those with France, and other civilized states. JENKINSON's *Collection of Treaties*, Vol. I. p. 228. Vol. II. p. 302. 315. V. III. p. 15. 18.

originated, for the most part, in the Italian school of politics.

The distress to which the power of France and Spain often reduced the states of Italy, during the 16th century, and their frequent civil wars, gave rise among them to numberless evasions, in their public negotiations; which, had they been suffered to pass away, with the occasions that prompted them, might now have almost been looked upon as excusable; but by the pernicious sedulity of some learned men, they have been so carefully collected and arranged as to form, in a manner, a systematic code of political chicane; abounding in principles which are as disgraceful to national wisdom, as inimical to natural justice. Hence it happens, that the adjustment of these solemn compacts has sometimes been treated as little more than a trial of dexterity in the art of over-reaching; where it is the interest of each party to circumvent the other by finesse, to perplex business by subtleties, and to introduce every proposal in dark and ambiguous language.* When we recollect with what scrupulous order the ceremonial of a congress for settling these national

* One of their principles seems to have been, that treaties with infidels need not be considered as binding. But (to reason from VATTEL) the law of nature, and not re-

national compacts, is conducted, and reflect on the studies and habits of those persons who compose it, we are naturally led to expect some appearance of *arrangement* in the result of their deliberations. But this is not always the case. How many treaties are there, the materials of which seem thrown together, without any design, or even an attempt at arrangement, insomuch that it is almost impossible to form a clear idea of what may be their object or effect, till viewed under a new disposition; since it is not uncommon, beside the want of order in particular articles, to find an interesting stipulation abruptly suspended by the intervention of a new subject, and as unexpectedly resumed in some other part of the treaty.*

These

ligion, regulates the treaties of nations, who negotiate with each other in the quality of Men, not of Christians, Mussulmans, &c. A religion which should teach the contrary, and allow of infidelity in such contracts, could never proceed from the Author of Nature, who is always constant and faithful. (*Law of Nations*, B. II. ch. xii. § 162.) Let it be remembered, that *Mahomet* urged to his followers, the necessity of an inviolable observance of treaties. *OCKLEY's Hist. of the Saracens*, V. I. p. 76.

* This want of order in arrangement is feelingly regretted by a great Political Arithmetician, in the case of public papers, laid before the House of Commons; (*YOUNG's Annals of Agriculture*, No. xxix. p. 396.) and

These objections will receive strong confirmation in the instance of marine treaties, in which the negotiator has certainly better opportunities of preserving simplicity of language and arrangement, than in the more multifarious business of a general pacification. In no branch of diplomacy, however, have those principles of natural equity, which constitute the law of nations, been more accurately defined, or more happily adopted into common practice, than in the regulations of commercial intercourse. We must not therefore be surprised, if, in the minuter departments of such negotiations, some deficiencies should occur; for they require an insight into remote consequences, which nothing but long and practical experience in mercantile affairs can furnish, and which, therefore, seldom falls within the reach of a statesman. The establishment of a Committee, for the purpose of preparing business of this kind for public debate, composed of men qualified, by their education and profession, to form accurate opinions on subjects of trade, and who, by an extensive correspondence, are accustomed to investigate the causes, and foresee the effects, it must be obvious to every person, who has had occasion to consult a collection of treaties, or any other documents, with a view to accurate information.

of every variation in the commercial balance, it can never be doubted would remove all defects of this kind, and is recommended by the example of the greatest trading republic of modern times. A committee of the Privy Council can never be adequate to such an undertaking in its full extent, for the same reasons which disable many negotiators; and the judgments of individual merchants is objectionable; because, however qualified in other respects to give advice, they must of necessity clash in their interests and prejudices, so as to make it difficult to draw as clear a decision from among them, as would be the result of an experienced committee. Without some such plan as this, it is surely unreasonable to expect that perfection in marine treaties, which their importance requires; because, however brilliant in the higher branches of his office, a negotiator is very rarely qualified for the professional labour of detail and calculation.* This appears

on

* Though I entirely agree with Mr. YOUNG in his idea of the mischievous effects of the *monopolizing* spirit, I cannot subscribe to his opinion that this evil can be increased by such an establishment as a *Chamber of Commerce*. "Annals of Agriculture," Vol. III. p. 452. On the contrary I am at present persuaded it must, among other advantages, contribute much to counteract it. In this I am possibly mistaken, and sincerely wish that he would take an

on the slightest view of the department; but, were we to consider it more scrupulously, it would be found to demand such a variety and extent of talents, as few minds are capable of displaying. Beside a general knowledge of the trade, and reciprocal interests, of the contracting powers, he ought to be precisely acquainted with their several kinds of industry and skill; to discover their wants, to calculate their resources, and to weigh with nicety the state of their finances, and the proportionate interest of their money; nay, further, he should be able to ascertain the comparative population and strength of each country, together with the price and quality, both of first materials, and also of the labour bestowed upon them; for this purpose he should inquire into the operations of every class of merchants and manufacturers concerned in the treaty, should consult their expectations on each of its several branches, and collect their hopes and fears on the effect of such a commercial revolution, on the competition of rival nations. A good treaty of commerce, independent of the art of negotiation, is pro-

early occasion to enter more fully into this important subject, for which, by his long experience and acute genius in such matters, he is so eminently qualified.

nounced

nounced by one, who well knew the extent and difficulty of the subject, to be “ a masterpiece of skill.” *

The ABBE DE MABLEY is of opinion, that particular regulations in commercial treaties are contrary to the true interest of states. Were this doctrine once established, the business might be comprised in a very narrow compass, and all this detail of qualifications rendered unessential in the character of a plenipotentiary. After certain general rules for the freedom of commerce and navigation are adjusted, he thinks it would be more prudent for each party to trust for the rest, to their internal policy, and to enact, among themselves, such laws as may be calculated to promote domestic industry, and to enable their own subjects to surpass their neighbours in all the great articles of traffic : “ For,” he adds, “ every advantage granted to foreign trade is, in some degree, a check upon your own. It creates a competition ; and, what was at first a particular privilege, becomes a general right : in the mean time, that branch of your domestic trade, whatever it be, instead of receiving an extensive circulation from the unrestrained industry of the people, is thus confined

* POSTLETHWAYTE’s *Commercial Interest of Great Britain*, V. II. p. 423.

by foreign competition, and, in the end, entirely stagnates."* But such a scheme as this seems objectionable on many accounts. It is at present only necessary to observe, that its adoption would defeat the leading idea of marine compacts, which are intended, not merely to lay down general rules for the freedom of commerce and navigation. These are now sufficiently understood, and practised by every civilized power, being founded on certain immutable principles, which have one only criterion of justice; but rather to reconcile the interests of the contracting parties, in many particular branches of trade; which, depending, in a great degree, on the variable taste, manners, and ingenuity of mankind, must for ever stand in need of periodical revisions. That such are the leading objects in modern conventions, will appear more fully from the following reflections.

THE TREATY OF MUNSTER, among other visible effects on the law of nations, produced a considerable revolution in the commercial policy of Europe. When, by this Treaty, the United States of Holland obtained the acknowledgment of their sovereignty, they vigorously applied themselves to those arts, by which alone they had been enabled to maintain

* *Droit Public de l'Europe*, Tom II. p. 561.

the contest, and to secure, at last, their freedom and independence. Ambition, not avarice, is usually the characteristic vice of nations ; but, whatever transient influence ambition may have had on the opposers of Spanish tyranny, during the struggle, it was a passion by no means calculated to take root and thrive in the constitution of a Dutch republic. What had cost them so much unabated labour to obtain, they resolved to preserve by a uniform system of shrewd, self-interested policy.* That commerce, which had been gradually increasing for more than half a century, it was now their first care to extend and confirm by cautious negotiations.

The inactivity of those maritime states, which had always considered traffic as an object of too little dignity to be made the foundation of national grandeur, afforded them the opportunity ; accordingly in less than fifteen years from the *Treaty of Munster*, there was scarcely a power of any consequence with whom they had not formed an advantageous alliance, merely with a view to commercial privileges. The perfection to which they carried the trade of *freightage*,

* See *The Political Maxims* of JOHN DE WITT, a work which proves its author to have been equally calculated to sit in the Compting-house and the Cabinet,

was a stroke of policy peculiar to themselves; and to this they were first led as much, probably, by their situation as their avarice. Among many other new regulations for its support, they appear to have introduced those laws for adjusting neutral traffic with belligerent states, which now make so marked an article in all treaties of navigation and commerce;* the laws also of contraband were greatly improved by them, and the various species of mercantile property more accurately defined and secured.†

The

* The *Hanse Towns* were the predecessors of the Dutch in the Carrying-Trade, but never enjoyed it so exclusively, or in a manner so effectually secured to them. It seems as if the article, alluded to above, was first admitted by France, in a treaty of defensive alliance between her and Holland, in 1662; and, being renewed in the Marine Treaty of 1678, has been since continued, and repeatedly confirmed. As this Treaty of 1662 was taken as the basis of that commercial compact, which followed the Triple Alliance in 1668, it was admitted also at that time by the English, and repeated in the treaty of 1674, which now regulates, for the most part, our trade with Holland. JENKINSON's *Discourse on the Conduct of Great Britain to Neutral Nations.* p. 30.—*Collection of Treaties,* V. I. p. 190. 202. 211.

† The regulations of contraband are founded on very rational principles, long in use among maritime states. In the “*Consolato del Mare*,” a code of high antiquity, we read:—“in hostium est partibus qui ad bellum necessaria hosti administrat.” tit. 276. But there are many distinc-

The science of negotiation became thus enriched with clearer maxims of maritime jurisprudence, and almost a new title added to the code of the law of nations.

There are marine treaties between many European states, to be found in the history of very early ages ; though they chiefly consist of combinations for mutual defence against pirates, whose depredations in the Mediterranean and Baltic obstructed the commercial intercourse of those times, and rendered alliances of this sort very necessary ; yet this was not, as some have asserted, their only object. The utmost extent of their views, however, seems to have comprehended little more than provisions for certain tolls and duties, and general engagements for the protection of the persons and property of

tions necessary to modify this rule. See *MOLLOY De Jure Maritimo et Navalii*, B. I. c. i. § 12. et seq. The fourth article in the treaty of 1674, already mentioned, was suggested by Queen Elizabeth's remarkable capture of the Hanseatic ships, bound to Lisbon, with corn, for the supply of the Spaniards. It has been uniformly held, that goods calculated merely for luxury or pleasure, can never be ranked as contraband. Upon this principle, in the year 1676, when the French and Dutch were at war, the English permitted the French to build a pleasure yacht for their King at Portsmouth, and it was not considered as a breach of the neutrality. *MOLLOY*, ut supra, §. 24.

merchants

merchants trading to, or resident in, their respective dominions.* Even in ages much nearer our own, we have frequent instances of the contracted scale of their negotiations. There is indeed, a Treaty between England and France, in the year 1514, which comprises some articles of reciprocal advantage in many useful branches. But this is, I believe, almost the only exception.† Even the Society of the Hanse Towns, a confederacy, both in its object and importance, unrivalled in ancient or modern history, though known to have made considerable progress in commercial policy, as far as regards municipal institutions, yet, if we except some cautious stipulations, for privileges and protection in the ports of England and Denmark, never appears to have engaged very deeply, or to have adopted any system in its negotiations with foreign powers.‡ Whoever shall compare the maritime conventions of earlier ages with “the particular article concerning navigation and commerce,” inserted in the Treaty of

* RYMER's *Fædera*, Tom. V. p. 740. 763.

† Ibid. Tom. XIII. p. 412.

‡ WERDENHAGEN, *De Rebus publicis Hanseaticis*, Tom. I. p. 73. and the *Convention at Lübeck*, in 1613, Tom. II. p. 140.

Munster, the subsequent Treaty between Holland and England, or England's Treaty with Portugal in 1654, by which she acquired a free trade to the Portuguese Colonies in East India, will be convinced that the Treaty of Munster is the æra whence we ought to date our present system of naval and mercantile policy.* Till that period, the outline was faint and contracted; it has since gradually acquired boldness and extent. In short, it was reserved for the superior sagacity of modern nations, founded on the experience of past ages, and for those more humane virtues, which now characterize and adorn society; to introduce an enlarged spirit of hospitality into our marine conventions, which has given an expansion and stability to trade beyond all former examples; which has opened an unreserved communication between almost every region of the habitable earth, and nearly swept away all ancient prejudices, arising from distinction of language, manners, or government. This spirit has lately diffused its influence over the rude inhabitants of the Baltic coasts;† and seems at last about to complete its

* JENKINSON'S *Collection of Treaties*, V. I. p. 42, 45, 72.

† *Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and Russia, in 1766.* JENKINSON'S *Treaties*, V. III. p.

its work, by marking out the ground for a reconciliation between two great kingdoms, whose hereditary enmity has too often disturbed the tranquillity of Europe.* From these necessary reflections, we are now naturally led to the immediate subject of our present inquiry, and to some other matters, connected with it.

224.—*Treaty of Commerce between Russia and Denmark, in 1782, V. III. p. 268.—Between Russia and Portugal, in 1783, V. III. p. 314;* and, in the same year, *An Edict of the Empress for a Free-Trade, V. III. p. 331.*

* “Commerce,” says the Author of *The Spirit of Laws*, “is a cure for the most destructive prejudices; and to this it is we are in a great measure indebted for the present polish of European manners; because, having diffused a general knowledge of the manners of all nations, there naturally arises a comparison between them, and hence results the advantage.” *Esprit de Loix*, Liv. XX. ch. i.

Treaties are the Statute Laws of a statesman. Considering their importance, it is surprising that we have no collection of them sufficiently complete. RYMER brings them down to the year 1642; from that period, THURLOE’s *State Papers* may be usefully consulted. *A General Collection of Treaties*, in 4 vols. 8vo. published in 1732, and JENKINSON’s *Collection of Treaties*, in 3 vols. 8vo. concludes them at the late Peace in 1783. A well arranged code of public treaties, with such historical and political remarks as should not only illustrate every material article in them, but also should compare and connect their partial and general effects, would surely be a valuable acquisition to the diplomatic science.

THE TREATY OF NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE between France and Great Britain, signed at Versailles the 26th of September 1786, consists of 47 articles. Having premised, according to usual form, that there shall subsist a reciprocal and perfect liberty of navigation and commerce, between the subjects of the two contracting parties, for all kinds of goods in their respective dominions in Europe,* it proceeds, in the first place, to extend certain privileges and protections to the persons and property of merchants resident in either country, and permits them, even in case of a rupture between the two crowns, to remain, and continue their trades, without any interruption; but in case their conduct shall render them suspected, the term of twelve months is allowed them to remove, with their families, property, and effects.† Besides free permission to visit, dwell in, and pass through each other's dominions without passports, the subjects of both kingdoms have licence reciprocally to import in their own ships all merchandizes and goods, *not prohibited by law*, into the dominions of either party, to reside therein, and to buy and sell lawful merchandizes there, in any manner whatever; nor are they, on this account, to be

* Art. 1.

† Art. 2.

liable to any duty or imposition, except such as shall be afterwards specified, or to which the inhabitants of the country are liable;* it is therefore thought reasonable to abolish the Capitation Tax, and the *Argent du Chef*, and to prohibit the future introduction of any such arbitrary impost.† Freight duty, likewise, on ships belonging to his Britannic Majesty, is removed, and, in return, the duty of five shillings is taken off French ships.‡ Disputes in the ports of either kingdom, between the commander of a ship and his seamen, are to be settled, for the present, by the magistrate of the place; requiring the person accused to give the accuser a written declaration, witnessed by

* Art. 4, 5. The laws of England have ever been favourable to merchants. By *Magna Charta* the effects of foreign merchants are protected against seizure or confiscation, in case of war. Cap. xxx. Upon which MONTESQUIEU observes, how high an idea one must entertain of the spirit of a nation, where such a clause is made an article of its liberty! *Esprit des Loix*, Liv. XX. ch. xiii.

† Art. 12. In countries where the ease, comfort, and security of the inferior ranks of people are little attended to, *Capitation Taxes* are very common; because, being levied at little expence, and rigorously exacted, they afford a very sure revenue to the state. SMITH's *Wealth of Nations*. B. V. chap. ii. V. III. p. 320, Edit. 1786.

‡ Art. 15.

the magistrate, whereby he shall be bound to answer that matter in his own country, and after this it shall not be lawful for the seamen to desert or detain the ship. For the still further encouragement of foreign merchants in both countries, among other smaller privileges, they are permitted to keep their accompts, and to hold correspondence, in what language they please, nor, unless in case of bankruptcy, are their books, or other instruments of trade, liable to be seized or inspected.* They are moreover left entirely free to transact their own affairs, or to employ whom ever they shall think fit; as also to load and unload their ships, without interruption or interference of any Port-Officer whatever.|| To complete the catalogue of these immunities, they are permitted the free exercise of religion, and the rights of sepulture in the dominions of either sovereign.† These articles, thus selected and classed, seem properly to fall under one head, and may form the first division of the Treaty.

* Art. 17.

|| Art. 18.

† Art. 5, latter part. Most of these immunities have been partially introduced into all commercial Treaties, even as far back as the middle of the last century. See *Treaty of Commerce between England and Portugal in 1654*. Art. XIV. and *between England and France, in 1655*. Art. XII.

The TARIFF declaring the duties apportioned to several sorts of goods and merchandizes by this compact, the mode of levying them, and some Custom-House regulations, may be so connected as to form a second division, though strictly considered, the sixth article alone contains the tariff of the treaty. Of this article, therefore, it is unnecessary here to speak, for an obvious reason. I shall proceed to the other parts of this second division. After specifying the rates on the most essential objects of commerce, and agreeing not to alter them, but by mutual consent, it is stipulated, that all other merchandizes whatever, belonging to the subjects of the two sovereigns, shall be admitted into their respective dominions on the footing of the most favoured European nation, and that such subjects themselves shall be included in all additional advantages, which may hereafter be on either side extended to navigation and commerce.* So likewise, in case either of the contracting parties shall establish prohibitions, or shall augment the duties upon any part of the growth or manufacture of the other's country, not specified in the tariff, these shall be extended generally to the same goods and mer-

* Art. 7.

chandizes

chandizes of the most favoured European nation; and, if it shall revoke prohibitions, or diminish duties, on the growth and manufactures of any other European nation, the same advantages shall be granted to the other contracting party, on condition of reciprocity.* In all this, however, there is a reservation † to France in favour of Spain, agreeable to the 24th Article of the Family Compact of 1761, and to England, in consequence of her Convention with Portugal in 1703. No pretence of any fraud or defect whatever, shall hereafter empower any person to inspect or confiscate the exportations of either country, but the buyer and seller are perfectly free to adjust their own price and bargain. ‡ Neither shall ships or cargoes be subject to confiscation, on account of any manifestly unintentional mistake or error in their entry or declaration; nor merchants, or masters of ships, be liable to any penalties on this score, if the goods omitted shall not have been landed prior to the declaration. § And

* Art. 11.

† Art. 7. and 11. For the particulars of these reservations see *The Family Compact in JENKINSON's Treaties*, Vol. III. p. 70; and *The Treaty of Commerce between England and Portugal*, Vol. I. p. 353.

‡ Art 8.

§ Art. 10.

further, to prevent impositions and frauds, such merchandizes as are contained in casks, chests, and other cases, shall henceforth only pay duty for their real weight *.

The third head, under which the Treaty may be distributed, is, by much, the most extensive, comprising many very material points of maritime jurisprudence. In the first place, in order to regulate the doctrine of contraband in time of war, by clear and exact principles, we have, in separate articles, two large catalogues of such goods as do or do not fall under that description; † the result of which is, that all arms, military implements, and soldiers on their voyage to employment in a military capacity, in either the fleets or armies of an enemy, shall be deemed contraband; as also money and provisions which are in the act of conveyance to any place of an enemy, besieged, blocked-up, or invested, and as such they may be seized and confiscated; in all other cases, the ships and merchants of either contracting party have full liberty to sail to the ports belonging to the enemies of the other party; and to pass, not only between such ports and neutral places, but also from one port of

* Art. 9.

† Art. 22, 23.

the enemy to another, and therein to traffic, without opposition or disturbance; and the like immunities are extended to the persons and property of enemies found on board the ships of either of the two contracting parties. But, on the other hand, the persons or property of either of the contracting parties, found on board enemies ships, though not falling under the title of contraband, are not to enjoy the same privilege, it being a settled maxim, that free ships make free cargoes, and the contrary.* For the effectual prevention of disputes and misunderstandings, in these matters, it is further agreed, that in case either party shall be engaged in war, the ships of the other party shall be furnished with passports, drawn up according to a form annexed to the treaty; and also with certificates, specifying the several particulars of the cargo, the place whence the ship sailed, and whither she is bound; and such ship, falling in with the men of war or privateers of the other party, having exhibited her passport and certificate

* Art. 20, 29. Much useful information and sound reasoning on this subject may be found in JENKINSON'S *Discourse on the conduct of Great Britain with respect to neutral nations*, prefixed to his *Collection of Treaties*; and in MOLLOY, *De Jure Maritimo et Navalii*, B. I. ch. iii. §. 9. and the following.

(to which the master is compellable), shall have liberty to proceed on her voyage without search, chase, or any molestation whatever.* But if a merchant ship be not provided with such passports and certificates, yet, upon examination before a proper judge, and upon sufficient proof of her belonging to the subjects of either party, she be found to contain no contraband goods, she may be released, together with her cargo, in order to proceed on her voyage. † It is also provided, that even in case of a discovery of contraband goods, it shall not be lawful to proceed to any act whatever of breaking open, or removing the same, till the lading shall be brought on shore, in the presence of proper officers, and an inventory made by them of the said goods. Neither shall it be lawful to make any use or advantage of them till after sentence of confiscation, pronounced upon them, in due and lawful process, before the Judges of the Admiralty; the ship itself, and the other goods therein, being entirely free from confiscation or detention on account of the prohibited goods, agreeable to a stipulation in a former article. ‡

* Art. 24. 26, 27.

† Art. 33.

‡ Art. 20. 28.

To

To these provisions for the free and honourable maintenance of commerce, in times when either of the parties shall be engaged in hostilities, and for the prevention of fraud and subterfuge, which are the never failing sources of discontent and animosity, it is further agreed, that no acts of hostility or violence shall be exercised by the subjects, &c. of either of the two crowns against the subjects of the other on any pretence whatever; neither shall they receive for such purpose a commission or patent of any kind, from any prince or state, at enmity with either party, to act or arm as privateers or letters of reprisal, against them, under the severest punishment, beside being liable to make full restitution and satisfaction to those whom they have injured. Nor shall either of the contracting parties grant letters of reprisal against the other, unless in the case of an injury, after proper application made to the minister resident in the injured country, no redress can be obtained, and justice is obstinately denied or delayed.

Nor

† Repriſals, by the laws of England, are of two sorts, ordinary, and extraordinary. The ordinary are either within the realm or without. Those within the realm are granted by the Lord Chancellor, by Writ of Chancery, with

Nor shall any privateers, bearing commissions of a state at enmity with either party, be suffered to arm in the ports of the other party, to carry on any traffic there, or even to purchase more provisions than may enable them to reach the nearest port of that inimical state: moreover, no shelter or refuge shall be given to such as have made prize of any ship or vessel belonging to either party; nor shall the ships or goods of one party be suffered to be taken within cannon-shot of the coast, or in the ports, &c. of the other* On the

with the approbation of the King or Council, to arrest the merchant stranger's goods here in England, of that nation which hath committed the injury. Those granted in the ordinary way, to repair injuries out of the realm, are always under the Great Seal, and are considered as irrevocable, and as creating and vesting, as it were, a national debt in the grantee, to be satisfied, as is directed in the patent, out of the goods of that nation whence the injury proceeds. *Extraordinary Reprisals* are called *Letters of Marque*, and are granted by the Secretaries of State, with the approbation of King and Council. They are during the King's pleasure; and, being intended only to harass or weaken the enemy in war, are always revocable. **MOLLOY**, B. I. ch. ii. **FITZHERBERT**, Nat. Brev. fol. 114. Stat. 4. Hen. V. c. vii. xiv.--Ed. IV. c. iv. et 4 Inst. 124, 125. 137.

* Art. 3. 16. 40. latter part 41. It has been deemed a violation of the law of nations to assault an enemy in the port,

the contrary, their majesties' ships of war, or the privateers belonging to their subjects, may carry the ships and goods, taken from their enemies, whither they please; neither shall any prize of this kind, brought by them into their respective ports, be liable to inquiry, search, detainer, or seizure.* Ships of either of the two nations, retaken by the men of war or privateers of the other, if they have not been in the power of the enemy twenty-four hours, shall be restored to the owners, upon their paying a stated sum, specified in the article, for their redemption. † And in all disputes respecting the legality of prizes, the judge shall direct an inventory and an appraisement to be made of the effects, and shall require securities from the captor, for paying the costs, and from the claimant, for paying the value of

port, or under the protection, whether of friend, ally, or neuter. See a very remarkable case of Sir KENELM DICEY, with the French, Venetians, and the Grand Seignor. MOLLOY, B. I. ch. iii. §. 7.

* Art. 40, first part.

† Article 34. HALE's *History of Pleas of the Crown*, p. 163. *Consulatu Maris*, cap. 283. 287: but in general this law of *Restitution* is extended, in all possible cases, in favour of the owner. MOLLOY, *De Jure Maritimo et Navalii*, B. I. ch. ii. §. 21.

the prize on either issue of the suit; and in such case of proper securities given, the execution of the Judge's sentence shall not be suspended by reason of any appeal.* Ships or merchants of either kingdom, suffering any injury or outrage from the men of war or privateers of the other, shall have ample reparation; to which intent the persons and effects of the offending party shall stand bound; but in the case of any kind of torture used by a captor upon the master, crew, or passengers, not only the captured ship itself, together with the persons, merchandizes, and goods, shall be forthwith released, but also such as shall be convicted of the crime, together with their accomplices, shall suffer the most severe punishment. With this view, all commanders of privateers, before they receive their commission, &c. shall be obliged to give sufficient security, by good bail, as specified in the article, that they will make complete satisfaction for all injuries or damages which may, during the cruize, be committed by themselves, their officers, or others in their service. † The ships of either party driven by

storm

* Art. 36.

† Art. 30. 42. 31. These articles, originally inserted in the Treaty between France and England in 1677, are, says MOLLOY, for their excellency, fit to be a standard to all

storm into any port of the other, shall not be compelled to unlade, or pay any duty; and in case, having first obtained lawful permission, they unlade, and sell a part of their cargo, for the purpose of victualling or refitting, they shall only pay duty for that part. And when entered into port, in any manner whatever, they are unwilling to land their cargoes, or break bulk, they shall not be obliged to give an account of their lading, unless suspected, on sure evidence, of carrying prohibited goods to the enemies of either of the two contracting powers. In cases of shipwreck, all that shall be saved must be restored upon claim made, to the proprietors or their factors, paying only the expences of the preservation, according to the established rates of salvage. *

After all these mutual agreements, with respect to their conduct towards each other, the contracting parties think it for the still greater security of trade and navigation, to combine against the common enemy of commercial intercourse; it is accordingly determined not to admit, harbour, protect, or assist in any port, city, town, or dwelling whatever, any Pirates,

all the nations of Europe. *De Jure Maritimo et Naval;*
B. I. ch. iii. §. 8, 9.

* Art. 19. 25. 37.

or Sea-Rovers, and that persons convicted in so doing shall suffer condign punishment; moreover, that all the ships and cargoes, taken by pirates, and brought into the ports of either kingdom, shall be seized, and the property, being sufficiently proved in the Court of Admiralty, shall be delivered to the owners or their factors, even though it has passed into other hands by sale, if it be proved that the buyers knew, or might have known, that they had been piratically taken. And similar cautions shall be used with all ships and merchandizes taken on the high seas, and brought into the ports of either nation.* Such is the sum of the various materials

* Art. 39. This Law of *Restitution* to the owner of his property, piratically taken, is founded on Stat. 27 Ed. III. c. xiii. and is in the true spirit of the famous ATINIAN LAW, *De Usucapione*, which provided, that *prescription* should not avail against goods fraudulently taken. "Quod surreptum est, ejus rei æterna auctoritas esto." But common law bars the claim of the owner, if his goods have been sold in market overt. AULUS GELLIUS, Lib. XVII. c. vii. ROLLE's *Abridg.* 530. YELVERTON, 135. 1. SIDERFIN, 320. 367. By 28 Hen. VIII. c. xv.—11 and 12 W. III. c. vii.—4 Geo. I. ch. xi. §. 7, all pirates shall be tried as felons, and shall be excluded their clergy. Moreover, piracy and robbery on the seas is excepted out of the general pardon of felonies, both at common and statute law, for it is a special offence, and therefore should be especially

rials selected out of the Treaty, which appear more immediately intended to promote the freedom and security of commerce and navigation ; and to them may properly be subjoined the following articles, without which the wisest and most equal code would want its full effect and sanction.

In as much as it is proposed, by the present Treaty, in all the aforementioned respects, the Protection of individuals,—Their Personal Liberty,—The Safety of Merchandise, Goods, and Effects,—The Succession to Personal Estates,—all matters relative to the Lading and Unlading their ships, and other privileges and immunities, that the subjects of the two Crowns shall, in their respective dominions, be on the foot of the most favoured nation ; and that there shall be an impartial administration of justice ; care is to be taken that all judgments and decrees, upon marine cases, in the Court of Admiralty shall

especially mentioned. COKE, 3 Inst. tit. Admir.—20 Geo. II. c. lii. § 13. MOLLOY, B. I. ch. iv. “ Formerly it was “only cognizable by the Admiralty Courts, which proceed “by the rules of the civil law, but Stat. 28 Hen. VIII. c. xv. “established a new jurisdiction for this purpose, and since “that time marine felonies are tried by commissions of oyer “and terminer, under the King’s Great Seal.” BLACK-
“STONE’s Comment. B. IV. ch. xix. § 5.

be given in conformity to the rules of equity, and to the stipulations of this Treaty, by Judges who are above all suspicion, and who have no manner of interest in the disputed cause.* And upon proper complaint of injustice, their Majesties shall respectively cause any sentence to be revised and re-examined in their councils, and shall provide that justice be done to every complainant within the space of three months. Further, in matters of dispute, the subjects of each party may employ such advocates, notaries, solicitors, and factors, as they think fit.† And, lastly, for their mutual advantage, their Majesties shall respectively appoint national Consuls, in the dominions of each other, to superintend the interests, and to guard the privileges of their trade.‡

This

* Art. 44. 32. The original Court, to which questions of this sort are permitted in England, is, the Court of Admiralty; and the Court of Appeal is, in effect, the King's Privy Council, the members of which are, in consequence of Treaties, commissioned under the Great Seal for this purpose. 22 Geo. II. c. iii. BLACKST. *Comment.* B. III. ch. v. CLERKE's *Praxis Curiae Admir.*

† Art. 35. 38.

‡ Art 43. The term of this Treaty is by Art. 46, fixed at twelve years, at the expiration of which, a twelvemonth is to be allotted for its necessary revision. It is always prudent,

This closes the third and last general division of the Treaty. Should there be any truth in what was before insisted upon, namely, that as disorder is a radical defect in every work of human skill, it is particularly objectionable in matters of so extensive and important a nature as national compacts, then this new distribution may not it is hoped be without its advantage; since even the present treaty with all its excellencies will not perhaps be found altogether free from this common defect. If, therefore, by thus presuming, not only to compress and arrange its materials, but, in some instances, to vary its language, I shall be thought to have given it a more interesting and intelligible form, this merit must at least be allowed me to claim, that I could not have selected from the whole diplomatic code a more honourable testimony to the justice of my assertion.

Among other hasty observations on this Treaty, it has been discovered to be derived, through the Treaty of Utrecht, from one ratified between France and England in the year 1677. But, instead of resting our inquiries upon a period

prudent, says VATTEL, to limit the term of a commercial treaty; because, from the nature of its object, conjunctures may arise to make it, in many points oppressive to one of the contracting parties. *Law of Nations*, B. II. ch. ii. § 29.

which so necessarily excites unfavourable ideas of the motives for such a negotiation with France, it would be more candid to carry them back to a remoter age, especially, if in that age we can trace it to a less corrupted source. The Treaty of 1677 has small claims to originality. With regard to its principal stipulations, they are to be found in the commercial part of the Treaty of Munster, the acknowledged parent of the most essential branches of all our subsequent negotiations;* and, more particularly, (because there applied to the same object) of a treaty between France and England in the year 1655. Which though, like the rest, it was chiefly employed on the then new and favourite topic of neutralities, and on general points of maritime jurisdiction ; yet, obviously having for its object the establishment of a reciprocal trade between the two countries, may, in this respect, be considered as the genuine archetype.† Hence, therefore, our inquiries will most properly begin.

By this Treaty it was agreed, that the subjects of England, Ireland, and Scotland might freely

* Treaty of Commerce between England and Holland in 1654. *Collect. of Treaties*, V. I. p. 42.—With Sweden—Portugal—Denmark p. 69. 71. 75. With Holland again in 1668, p. 190, and again in 1674.

† *Collect. of Treaties*, V. I. p. 82.

import into France the growth and manufactures of their country, and, in return, should receive as freely, the wines, woollen and silk goods of France.* This article gave great offence to Spain. It appears, from a memorial presented to CROMWELL by the Spanish Ambassador, that she was the only power of any maritime consequence, whom he had omitted in his commercial alliances. And she urges her superior claim to the Protector's favour, on the ground of being the first State to acknowledge the English Republic; while, on the contrary, France had ever been the secret fomentor of insurrections there.† When the treaty was ratified, Spain seized upon the ships and effects of English merchants, in all her ports, to a very considerable amount; the consequence of which was the declaration of a war, so ruinous to Spain, that she never afterwards was regarded by France as her commercial rival. Beside the removal of such an obstacle, the same effect was still further promoted by this Treaty; for France, by her connection with England, was enabled to claim a share in the carrying-trade, till then monopolized by the Dutch, and

* Art. 5.

† See the Memorial in JENKINSON'S *Treaties*, V. I. p. 80.

to establish companies and factories of her own.* At this period therefore, I think, we may, with some propriety, place the rise of her commercial grandeur.

Commerce, says VOLTAIRE, was born in France as early as the reign of Francis I. but she died with that King, and did not revive till a century after.† Many steps had been taken during the administrations both of SULLY and RICHLIEU, to regulate and improve the trade of that country; their good effects, however, did not become visible till the age of Louis XIV. towards the middle of whose reign, the celebrated COBERT undertook his general reform. This minister began with establishing manufactures of various kinds, and holding out encouragements to industry and œconomy. The schemes of his predecessors, he saw, had been rendered abortive for want of that free circulation, which in every country is so essential to trade; for the different provinces, being each

* It appears, from the conclusion of this business, that CROMWELL and MAZARINE perfectly understood each other. The price of the Treaty was the tradition of the Royal Family, and their nearest friends, and their banishment from France. *Collection of Treaties*, V. I. p. 85.

† *Séicle de Louis XIV.* Tom. II. p. 123.

under its own particular government, laid such heavy and irregular duties upon the industry of their neighbours, as greatly retarded, and, in some instances, effectually shut out all communication among them. With a view to get rid of these obstructions, COLBERT removed all export duties to the frontiers, and caused a general book of rates to be made, by which all the provinces were in future to be equally regulated. Had he acted thus prudently in other points, his system would have been unexceptionable; but, by proceeding (from a false idea of encouraging domestic manufactures) to lay heavy duties and prohibitions upon the importation of all such foreign goods as would compete with their own, he threw such a restraint upon every department of trade, as prevented the full effect of many of his beneficial intentions. “He “endeavoured,” says the excellent Author of the *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, “to regulate the industry and com-“merce of a great country, upon the same model “as the departments of a public office; and, “instead of allowing every man to pursue his “own interest, his own way, upon the liberal plan “of equality, liberty, and justice, he bestowed “upon certain branches of industry, extraor-

“dinary privileges, while he laid others under
 “as extraordinary restraints. In this, and in
 “many other instances, he suffered himself,
 “notwithstanding his great abilities, to be im-
 “posed upon by the sophistry of merchants
 “and manufacturers.”* In the year 1662, a
Council of Commerce was created, at which the
 King himself very frequently presided, who pro-
 moted, by noble premiums, the new establish-
 ments in various parts of his dominions.†
 Among these the most remarkable were the
 woollen, silk, and gobelin manufactories. The
 woollen manufactory, in the province of Lan-
 guedoc,‡ by its neighbourhood to the port of
 Marseilles and to Spain, not only was able to
 procure the finest materials at a cheaper rate
 than any other country, but was furnished also
 with commodious inland conveyance, by means
 of the great canal, and with an easy transport to

* Book IV. ch. ii. and again B. IV. ch. ix. For a fine delineation of a commercial system, see the *Political Testament* of Cardinal RICHLIEU, upon which it is thought COBERT first founded his idea of reform. Part II. ch. viii. and ix.

† ANDERSON’s *History of Commerce*, V. II. p. 327.

‡ A manufactory of fine broad cloths was established also at Abbeville, which to this day maintains a great degree of reputation.

Italy and the Levant, where, by underselling the English, it assailed the market in a double capacity ; receiving in return for its imported industry, raw materials for the silk manufactories, on the same easy terms. This seemed to threaten fatal consequences to our Turkey Company, who might be considered as almost in their infancy,* and, through them, to our woollen trade ; but encouragements from the Crown, and timely assistances from Parliament, co-operating with the impolitic conduct of the French ministers, enabled them to withstand the competition. Indeed, we are told, in a petition presented to Parliament by the Weaver's Company, on occasion of the Utrecht Treaty, that between the years 1664 and 1713, our trade with those countries had increased twenty times. The causes which contributed to the embarrassment and decline of French commerce, were oppressive and ill-regulated Customs, unjust Monopolies, the Military Ambition of Louis XIV. and, still more fatal than all these combined, Religious Persecution, the most effectual check upon the

* This Company was erected at the beginning of the century, by King James I. and its traffic was, about fifty years after, computed to bring in an annual revenue of 320,000. ANDERSON'S *Hist. Com.* V. II. p. 373.

commercial spirit of a country. To one remarkable event of this kind must be attributed that total revolution in trade, which has taken place, during this century, in Europe, I mean the *Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, in the year 1685. In consequence of this step, on a moderate computation, about five hundred thousand persons transported their skill, their industry, and their stock, into England, Holland, Brandenburgh and Switzerland, to the great depopulation of their native country, and necessarily to the impoverishment of the State. To the immense number of these refugees, who settled in England, we are indebted for many useful improvements, and curious inventions, in our manufactories of woollen stuffs, silk, linen, paper, glafs, hats, watches, cutlery, hardware, and iron. But the amazing wealth which her extensive commerce had accumulated, prevented France from immediately feeling the effects of this ruinous emigration, which perhaps she might still have recovered, but for another step, which excited the jealousy of her neighbouring rival. Too eager to monopolize the trade of Europe, it had long been the policy of France, as already hinted, to aim at ruining that of England by such heavy duties upon many commodities as amounted to a total prohibition, though it would have been much

much more for her interest to have encouraged that predilection for her growth and manufactures which then prevailed. In fact, while we had been giving every possible encouragement to their manufactories, and the produce of their foil, they had been gradually increasing the duties upon all English goods.* The eyes of the country were at last opened, and in 1678, very contrary to the inclination of the King, an act was passed “to prohibit the importation of French goods, as highly detrimental to this kingdom.” The excellent effects of this law were soon felt; for, in less than twenty years, at the Treaty of Ryswick, the amount of our annual exports was more than doubled :† and this notwithstanding a very material interruption, as the prohibition

* Report of a Committee, &c. in the *History and Defence of the late Parliament*, in 1713, p. 227 and 228. Our cloths, which in 1644 paid only a duty of 9 livres per piece, or 25 ells $\frac{1}{4}$ English, paid in 1664, 40 livres, and in 1667 this duty was doubled. In 1699, in consequence of the peace of Ryswick, it was reduced to 55 livres, which was adopted in the proposed tariff at Utrecht. See a paper called “Consequences of a law for reducing the duties on French wines, brandy, silks and linen, to those of other nations, with remarks on *Mercator.*” No. III. A ministerial work, at that time published by DAN. DE FOE.

† ANDERSON’s *Hist. Com.* V. II. p. 180.

was only laid for three years; and during the remainder of Charles the Second's reign, no parliament had assembled; the first act of his successor was to get it repealed; so that, from 1685, to the Revolution, this country, says ANDERSON, had nearly been beggared by an inundation of French commodities.* In 1689 there was a convention between England and the United Provinces, for the purpose of more effectually checking the French trade; and in the same year another act was passed to prohibit their importations.† If to these natural effects of national jealousy, we add the new sources of commerce which England had now opened, who, no longer dependent on her neighbours, began to supply herself with wines from Italy, Spain, and Portugal; with linen from Holland and Silesia; with paper, stuffs and silks, by means of the new manufactories established at home; and consider also, that the duties had now begun to be appropriated by Parliament to particular uses and exigencies of State, and could not therefore be readily removed, we shall not be surprised that such difficulties should have arisen at

* ANDERSON'S *Hist. Com.* V. II. p. 182. *British Merchant*, p. 319.

† Stat. 1 W. and M. c. xxxiv. *Collection of Treaties*, V. I. p. 292.

Ryswick, as to have rendered it impossible for the plenipotentiaries to settle any tariff between the two nations, or that since that time mutual suspicions and prejudices should have increased those obstacles to a commercial communication, which it is the object of the present treaty to remove.*

While the minister of Louis XIV. was aiming to excite a spirit of industry among his countrymen, and to extend their foreign trade by restrictions and monopolies, an event took place in England which laid the foundation of our future maritime glory. This was the passing of the famous NAVIGATION ACT, upon which, and its salutary consequences, I shall proceed to offer a few observations: The first outline of this *Great Maritime Charter*, as Sir JOSIAH CHILD calls it, † was sketched in the Long Parliament, but it was not till nine years after that it received its legal confirmation. ‡

As

* Negotiations at Ryswick, V. II. Mem. xxiv. p. 464, and the following.

† Preface to his *Discourse of Trade*, in 1698.

‡ The original idea of this act may be found in stat. 14 Ric. II. c. vi. repeated in 4 Hen. VII. c. x. and again, in the article of wine, in 5 Eliz. c. v. § 11. Since its promulgation in 1660, it has been constantly receiving additions

As the strength and glory of this nation avowedly depend upon its marine, and as this can only be respectable in proportion to the number of its sailors and shipping; nothing could have been more prudently devised than an establishment for a monopoly of the trade of their own country, for the sailors and shipping of Great Britain, which is the leading object in this justly celebrated Act. Till that time the Dutch had been the factors of Europe; and, while they employed an immense quantity of men and ships in carrying the produce of our foreign trade, our own marine was laid by neglected, and our seamen (except when particular cases called for an exertion) were totally unoccupied. The Navigation-Act struck at the root of this evil. It excluded the Dutch from being any longer the carriers to Great Britain, or from importing to us the goods of any other European country, and, at the same time, encouraged a seminary for a national marine. "It is not impossible, (says Dr. SMITH) consider-

tions and revisals. By 14 Car. II. c. xi. three fresh clauses were added; and again, by 15 Car. II. c. vii. it was confirmed by proclamation. In 1685 it laid five shillings per ton on all foreign ships employed in our coal trade, and other regulations were added by 1 Jac. II. c. xviii.—9 W. and M. c. xxii. and later statutes.

" ing upon what inimical terms we then were
 " with Holland, that some of its regulations
 " may have proceeded from national animosity,
 " though they are as wise as if they had all
 " been dictated by the most deliberate wis-
 " dom."* Its wisdom however has been un-
 accountably called in question, by some of
 those restless spirits, whose glory it is, in all
 ages, to cavil at the most prudent acts of Go-
 vernment. Their objections are founded on
 the example of France, whose policy it has
 ever been to connect herself as much as possible
 with neutral nations. This step, it is said,
 may at first seem impolitic, because she employs
 such nations as the carriers and factors of her
 trade; but hence arises the advantage. In
 time of hostilities she is enabled to convert her
 merchant ships into private ships of war; and,
 by leaving her trade in the hands of neutral
 powers, whatever she loses in Freight is thus
 made up by the saving of Insurance. But this
 reasoning should never convince us that it can
 be for the real interest of any commercial coun-
 try to encourage a system of maritime neutr-
 alities, by entrusting the conveyance of her
 trade to foreigners; for, in proportion as that

* *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II. B. IV, c. ii.

trade increases, the positive and relative strength of a state must be diminished in favour of her rivals. To this may be added, another radical evil in such a measure : It renders the manufactures of a country in so great a degree subservient to the humour of strangers, that the revenue and resources of the state that sells will be, in some of their most productive branches, totally in the power of the state that navigates. A nation, in short, which is dependent upon another for the exportation of its superfluities, not only gives up the regulation of its own markets, but relies on others, both for the quantity and price of foreign commodities. Herein consists the difference between what has been called an *active* and a *passive* trade ; the former of which distinguishes the mercantile system of Holland, from that of all other states, whether ancient or modern ; and it is chiefly with a view to the superior advantages of such a trade, that the best writers on political and commercial matters, since the publication of this Act of Navigation, have agreed in their opinions of its merit. Sir JOSIAH CHILD asserts, that “ without it we had not been owners of one half the shipping nor trade, nor employed one half the seamen which we did in his time,” not more than thirty years from

its passing.* What opinion the Dutch entertained of it may be gathered, not only from the earnestness with which their plenipotentiaries at Breda contended for its repeal, † but from a confession of one of the ablest politicians in their Republic, who says, “ by the “ politic act passed in England, in the year “ 1660, it is much to be feared that the English merchants will in time carry away a “ great part of the Dutch trade.” ‡ And afterwards, speaking of the comparative state of the two countries—“ Since the prohibition of importing any goods in foreign ships into England, except such as are of the growth and manufacture of the country to which those ships belong, all our navigation to that kingdom is at a stand.” § DAVENANT asserts, that in the year 1688, the tonnage of our mercantile shipping was almost double its quantity in the year 1666, owing to the salutary operation of the Navigation-Act ; || and so dazzled was the na-

* *Discourse of Trade*, ch. iv. concerning the *Act of Navigation*, p. 1, which seems to contain a complete answer to most of the objections, then and since raised against it.

† *Collection of Treaties*, V. I. p. 196.

‡ *DE WITT's Interest of Holland*, Part I. ch. xxii.

§ *DE WITT*, Part II. ch. viii.

|| *Political Works*, B. II. p. 29.

tion by this rapid ascension and increasing splendour of trade, that the writers of that time conceived the commercial prosperity of England to be in its zenith.* A particular revolution, effected by the Act in question, is very well remarked by the Author of the *Wealth of Nations*. He observes, that "since its establishment the Colony trade has been continually increasing, while many other branches of foreign trade, especially of that to other parts of Europe, have been continually decaying. Our manufactures for foreign sale, instead of being suited, as before the Act, to the neighbouring market of Europe, or to the more distant one of the countries which lie round the Mediterranean sea, have, the greater part of them, been accommodated to the still more distant one of the colonies, to the market in which they have the monopoly, rather than to that in which they have many competitors."† Upon this ground, also, objections have been raised, to the expediency of continuing a law, which has not only thus diverted a copious stream out of its proper channel, but has drawn it from a sure

* ANDERSON, *Hist. Com.* V. II. p. 187.

† V. II. B. IV. ch. viii.

and regular course, to one which is now become at best very precarious.* To say nothing of the weakness of the latter part of this assertion, which our increasing trade with America now sufficiently demonstrates, it may be urged against these objectors, that in political questions it is not always to be considered only what will increase the wealth, but what will contribute to the strength and grandeur of a nation. Let the Navigation-Act, then, be placed in this, its proper light, and there are few, I believe, who will be perverse enough to deny that the naval spirit, so peculiar to our country, is the offspring of that statute; “a statute (to use the words of an excellent judge of its effects) “which alone hath fortunately outweighed all

* Suggested by these, and other principles of the same nature, a bill was lately depending in Parliament, for laying open the trade between America and our West-India Islands. The object sought was the exclusive trade of America; the effect to be produced, among many other evils, would probably have been, the establishment of their marine upon the ruins of our own. On this subject consult Lord SHEFFIELD’s *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*, especially p. 158 et seq. et 295 et seq. It is a work which cannot be too strongly recommended to the serious attention of every well-wisher to the manufactures, trade, and maritime power of Great Britain.

“ our other follies and extravagancies. Though
 “ condemned by some historians, and unnoticed
 “ by others, it hath proved the fertile source of all
 “ our naval power, hath operated insensibly to
 “ our preservation, and been the spring from
 “ whence hath flowed the wealth and greatness
 “ of England.”* Of this, therefore, as of the
 allowed consequence of that spirit, which be-
 came generally diffused among the people, by
 the Act of Navigation, I shall now take a sum-
 mary view.

Were we to attempt to form our opinions of the state of England's manufactures and commerce, from the Revolution to the opening of the present century, upon the sole authorities of political writers at those times, it would be a task of great difficulty. Few periods can furnish more striking contrasts of political senti-
 ment. On one side we are presented with warm and encouraging proofs of national prosperity, on the other, with dismal calculations of de-
 creasing wealth, and forebodings of general insolvency. We are now, by the most au-
 thentic documents, convinced that the flatter-
 ing side of the picture was drawn by the cor-

* JENKINSON'S *Discourse*, &c. prefixed to his Treaties,
 p. xxix.

rect hand of experience, while the opposite was nothing more than the hasty result of desponding theory.* The war which terminated in the Peace of Ryswick, was certainly very oppressive to the foreign trade of this country, and, as Mr. CHALMERS has stated from the first authority, had depressed it in the year 1694 to a very low pitch, † but from that time to the conclusion of the war, it seems gradually to have revived. During these convulsions, however, domestic traffic, and the interests of general commerce, were daily gathering that strength and elasticity which soon enabled them to throw off their incumbent weight, and to rise to a point unknown to any former period. Many new manufactories were established, and many old ones revived; in most of which, the skill of the French refugees, united with our native industry, now seemed to promise the highest perfection. The opening of a national bank greatly promoted the circulations of capitals, and foreign fisheries afforded a new semi-

* POLEXFEN's *Discourse on Trade, Coin, and Paper Credit*.—DAVENANT's *Discourse on Trade* in 1698.

† *An Estimate of the comparative strength of Great Britain, &c.* p. 62.

nary for our marine.* During the short space of four years, from the Peace of Ryswick to the accession of Queen Anne, the rapid improvement of our national revenue is remarkably striking. In less than four days two million sterling was subscribed, and there were persons ready to subscribe as much more. "Till that time," says ANDERSON, "there had never been so illustrious an instance of England's opulence. And after so expensive a war, what an high idea must such a circumstance have given foreigners of the wealth and grandeur of this country!" † Yet, notwithstanding this assertion, founded on documents the most incontrovertible, namely, the Papers of various Public Offices, and the Custom-House Books, together with many collateral confirmations, there were not wanting malignant and

* Jos. GEE's *Trade and Navigation of Great Britain*, edit. 1755, p. 5. At the Revolution the value of our annual exports was 4,086,087l. In the year 1694, in consequence of the war, it sunk below the amount at the Restoration, which was 2,043,043l. and, though at the peace of Ryswick in 1697, it had greatly recovered, yet it did not equal the amount at the beginning of the war.

† *History of Commerce*, V. II. p. 223. At the peace of Ryswick, the value of our exports was 3,525,907l. in 1701, 6,045,432l.

wrong-headed men, who, as in the former reign, represented the trade of the nation to be in a precarious and expiring state.* "Such proceedings," says the elegant Estimator of the Strength of Great Britain, "cast a just censure on the furious party contests, during the last years of Queen Anne, in respect to the condition of our commerce; as if the prosperity or the ruin of manufactures and trade, were influenced by the continuance of statesmen in the possession or in the expectation of emoluments and power." † The contests here principally alluded to, are those which broke out in consequence of the *Proposals made in the Negotiations at Utrecht for a Commercial Treaty with France.* This event has been lately so often alluded to by party writers, on each side of the question, and is so closely connected with our present subject, that I shall make no apology for introducing some particulars of it. And to this I am the more willingly led, because, among all their mass of materials, I have not been able to collect any account of the transaction sufficiently dispassionate to be

* W. Wood's *Survey of Trade.* See particularly the vile Dedication to King George I. p. 9.

† CHALMERS's *Estimate,* &c. p. 84.

either faithful or consistent. Upon the recollection of some circumstances which have been stated about the respective situations of France and England, at the latter end of the last century, their flourishing trade, still in the remembrance of our people, the infant state of many of our most valuable manufactures, together with those illiberal prejudices, and impolitic jealousies, which fettered commerce with heavy duties and prohibitions, it will not seem surprising that any negotiation between the two countries on the foot of reciprocal advantage, should, in the year 1713, have been an alarming and unpopular measure.

For the origin of the transaction we must go back to the year 1709, when the EARL OF SUNDERLAND directed the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations to consider on a Treaty of Commerce with France; and a correspondence was accordingly opened between some of the first merchants, in each nation. MR. ST. JOHN, afterwards LORD BOLINGBROKE, was very assiduous in this business; and, upon the representations of these merchants, and the written result of this correspondence, he drew up a rough draught of a marine treaty, and laid it before the House of Commons in 1711. It was by them

them transmitted to a committee of merchants, and upon their opinion and revision it was made the basis of the Utrecht negotiation.* Many clauses are said to have been copied from the ineffectual propositions made at Ryswick, and were for the most part of a general nature ; tending to adjust the forms and conditions of commerce and navigation, agreeable to those rules of universal equity, which the maritime States of Europe had for some time agreed in adopting, for their mutual convenience. Had the Treaty contained nothing more than this, it would have passed without a murmur ; but there were, unfortunately, two Articles, which seemed to strike at the root of our national wealth and commerce. The former of which *in general terms placed France and Great Britain in a commercial relation to each other, on the foot of the most favoured nations* ; the latter more particularly *specified the nature and extent of those terms* ; stipulating, among other things, *that no more customs or duties be paid for goods and merchandizes brought from France to Great Britain, than what are payable for goods and merchandizes of the like nature imported into Great Britain, from any other country in Europe.* *That all laws made in Great*

* Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. XVII. p. 347.
Britain

Britain since the year 1664, for prohibiting the importation of any goods and merchandizes, coming from France, which are not prohibited before that time, be repealed, and that the general tariff made in France in the year 1664, take place there again, and the duties payable in France by the subjects of Great Britain, for goods imported and exported, be paid according to the tenor of the tariff above-mentioned, with an exception however to certain merchandizes, that is to say, manufactures of wool, sugar, salted fish, and the product of whales. The Treaty containing these articles was signed at Utrecht on the last day of March, was ratified by the Queen, and published by Royal Authority in the month of April 1713. On the 14th of May it was moved in the House of Commons for leave to bring in “A Bill to make effectual “the 8th and 9th Articles of the Treaty,” which was carried by a majority of 252 votes, against 130, and it was accordingly ordered for the 30th of the same month.† An order was at the same time made for an exact statement of the whole amount of imports and exports of the woollen manufacture with France, and with*

* Art. 8 and 9. JENKINSON's *Collection of Treaties*, Vol. II. p. 45.

† Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. XVII. p. 352, and the following.

Portugal, from 1668 to 1669, and also of the wines of France and Portugal, imported into London and the Out-ports during 16 years, namely, from 1696 to 1712, to be delivered into the House.* No sooner was the bill made public, than a universal clamour was raised against it by the merchants and manufacturers. Petitions, Memorials, and Remonstrances were sent from all quarters of the kingdom. The Turkey Company, the Companies of Hudson's Bay, and of East and West India;† the cloth, silk, and woollen manufacturers took the alarm, and it at last became so general, that not only the principal towns and trading companies in Great Britain, but even our Factories at Hamburg and Portugal sent their Remonstrances to Parliament.‡ National jealousy had been

* Commons Journals, Vol. XVII. p. 365, and the following, wherein may be seen the various statements.

† Commons Journals, Vol. XVII. *passim* from p. 350.

‡ The alarm of the East-India Company arose from that part of the 9th Article which stipulated in favour of *goods and merchandizes of Great Britain to be imported into France*. They considered themselves as excluded the benefit of this clause, unless the favour were extended to the produce of other countries, to be imported into France, in English ships. Their fears, however, were appeased by a promise that such an amendment should be proposed.

awakened, and the minds of the people prepared to reject any overtures for mutual advantages of trade with France, by a Bill which was brought into Parliament at the opening of that Session, for suspending for two months the duty of 25l. per ton on French Wines imported, and which had produced a very spirited Memorial from the Portuguese Envoy, declaring, in the name of his royal master, that “in case the subject of the 9th article of the Treaty should be confirmed by Parliament, and the Wines of France be brought down to a level with those of Portugal, he would immediately lay a prohibition on all English goods imported to his country.”* Though of course each separate petition, &c. drew its argument of complaint from the probable injury which that class of men, by whom it was presented, were likely to suffer; yet there was little variety in the general substance and tendency of the objections. It was urged, that Parliament, by passing the Bill, would not only take the regulation of the balance of trade out of their own hands, but also would grant advantages to France, without an equal return; that, by her connection with

* *A History and Defence of the late Parliament*, published in 1713, p. 233.

Spain, and the superior convenience of her ports, she could procure some of the most valuable articles on much more easy terms than English traders could, and the price of labour being two thirds lower than in England, they could work up their materials cheaper, and consequently could undersell them in every market. Thus, in the first instance, they must lose the trade of Spain, Italy, and Turkey, in which their Woollens alone had brought in, for many years past, an annual revenue of 326,000l.* That, besides this loss, the trade to Portugal, to the amount of 600,000l. per ann. must fall, for it was clear that country would never consent to admit it on terms less advantageous to her than the Treaty of 1703,† which would be grossly violated by reducing the duties on French wines, to the same

* In *The Flying Post*, a newspaper at the beginning of this century, a writer, who signs himself—"A Dealer in Woollens and Linens," says, "In King William's war I sold much English woollen and linen, made in imitation of French; but in the late interval of peace, finding the sale slacken, I imported French, paying the present high duties for every piece, and sold it to so good profit, that I totally quitted the English." No. 3402, July 18, 1713.

† KING, in his Dedication of *The English Merchant to PAUL METHUEN*, asserts, that the exports to Portugal, in consequence of this Treaty, were in his time from 500,000l. to 1,500,000l. per ann.

rate with those of Portugal.* That from these considerations, and some others which were stated, the manufactories of woollen and silks, just growing into strength, would be particularly checked and diminished, by which an immense number of hands would be thrown out of employment, and thus the landed interest receive a severe blow by the sudden increase of the poor.† Beside these complaints from the mercantile parts of the kingdom, scarce a day passed without some Pamphlet, either in opposition to, or in defence of, the Articles; the principal of these were *Mercator* and the *Examiner* in support of the Bill, which were answered by the other party in a paper called *The British Merchant*, or *Commerce preserved.*‡

On the 30th of May, the Bill was read for the first time, and the 4th of June was named for the second reading; it was then referred to a Committee of the whole House for amendment and revision. Many days were employed in inspecting the accounts given in, pursuant to

* Art. 2. *Collection of Treaties*, Vol. I. p. 353.

† See the different Petitions, &c. in the *Commons Journals*, Vol. XVII.

‡ This last Paper has since been collected and published in 3 vols. 8vo.

order,

order, from the Custom-House books, and in examining merchants and manufacturers; at last, on the 18th, the question being put, Whether the Bill, as amended by the Committee, should be engrossed, “ A debate arose (says “ a political writer of that time) perhaps of the “ greatest importance to this kingdom, of any “ that has happened in Parliament since that of “ the *Abdication.*”* Among the principal speakers against it was General STANHOPE, who, after much strong and pointed reasoning, entered into a sort of comment on the prohibitory Act of Charles II. already mentioned. † He was seconded by Sir PETER KING, Mr. GOULD, Mr. HAMPDEN, and, above all, by Sir T. HANMER, whose conduct in this business reflects such high honour on his integrity, that it deserves to be particularly remembered. Before he had heard the sentiments of the people, most interested in its fate, he gave his vote in favour of the Bill; but his apprehensions for the trade, the manufactures, and the landed interest of his country being now alarmed, by the numerous and pressing remonstrances against it,

* *History and Defence of the late Parliament*, in the year 1713, p. 243.

† Ibid. p. 43. See also GREY’s *Debates*, Vol. V. p. 34.

he was not ashamed of correcting his opinion. After a long and very elaborate discussion of the subject, and a review of all the grand arguments, both within doors and without, which had been urged on each side, he concluded:—

“ While I have the honour to sit in this House,
 “ I will never be blindly led by any ministry,
 “ nor be biassed by what might weigh with
 “ others—the fear of losing their elections.
 “ The principles on which I act are, the in-
 “ terest of my country, and the conviction of
 “ my judgment, and on these two considera-
 “ tions alone I am against the Bill.”* Mr.
 ARTHUR MOORE, who was said to have been
 chiefly employed in conducting the Treaty,
 was the leading speaker for the Bill. After
 very warm debates, which lasted from three
 o'clock in the afternoon, till eleven at night, it

* Sir T. HANMER was, in the following year, elected Speaker of the House; and, on his introduction, was complimented by Sir RICHARD STEELE, in a speech, which ended with these words.—“ It is a demonstration, that the “ Bill of Commerce was a most pernicious Bill, and no man “ can have so great merit to this nation, at this time as he, “ by whose weight and authority that pernicious Bill was “ thrown out. I rise up to do him honour, and, in some “ measure, to distinguish myself by giving my vote for “ that, his inestimable service to his country.” GREY'S *Debates*, Vol. V. p. 40.

was thrown out by a majority of 194 to 185.
 “ Thus by nine votes,” says the Historian of that Parliament, “ did the trade of Great Britain, and all its manufactures, escape the most fatal blow that ever was aimed at it.”* It may not be unamusing to know what effect this ejectionment of a Bill, which had created such a ferment, produced on the commercial and manufacturing part of the kingdom. Information of this sort cannot be had with greater marks of certainty than from the newspapers of those times; for, till the spirit of party was suffered to creep in and debase their authority, newspapers might be considered as faithful chronicles of popular opinion, and national manners. “ The last post from Somersetshire,” says one of them, “ brings advice, that, as soon as the great cloathing town of Froome had the news that the Bill was thrown out of the House, the clothiers, and others, concerned in the woollen manufactory, made extraordinary rejoicings, with ringing bells, bonfires, illuminations, and drinking loyal healths to the Queen’s Majesty, and the succession of the illustrious House of Hanover.”† In the

* *History and Defence of the late Parliament*, p. 247.

† *Flying Post*, No. 3392, June 25, 1713.

next number is a letter from Canterbury, which says—“ with joy we hear, that on Thursday last, “ the 18th, of June, 1794 Patriots did by their “ resolution save many thousands of poor fami- “ lies, amongst the woollen, linen, and silk “ manufactures, from utter ruin.” * Such are the accounts from the west and east, which agree exactly with what was heard on the occasion from the central and northern parts of the kingdom. A letter from Coventry calls the ejectment of the Bill, *The glorious Negative*; and, after much more in the same strain, this postscript is added. “ Great inquiries are making “ how our two members voted on this grand “ question;” † a hint which sufficiently explains Sir T. HANMER’s allusion, and, which, at the ensuing canvass for the new Parliament, was very generally taken. Among other instances of this, at the end of an advertisement for the election of members for the county of Sussex,

* *Flying Post*, No. 3393, June 27.

† No. 3394, June 30. As a specimen of popular waggery at that time, we are told, that “ a long pole, with “ two forks, bearing a fleece of wool and a bottle, was “ carried about with these inscriptions—*No English wool* “ *for French wines—Hemp for all those who want to soak* “ *their fleeces in claret—No change of staple for spirits.*”

we are directed, in large capitals, to remark, that Hen. Champion, Esq. who opposes the two worthy Gentlemen, nominated herein, voted for the Bill of Commerce with France.* The anxiety previous to the issue of this event, and the joy on its declaration, were not confined to this Island; our factories, both in the Levant and in Portugal, while the Bill was pending, had seconded their petitions, by procuring leave for some of the principal members of their respective companies, to be admitted into the mercantile committees, and afterwards to speak in their behalf at the bar of the House. † Their joy on receiving the news of its ejection was extravagant, and many days were passed in festivity and congratulations. ‡

These particulars, relative to a part of history to which many imperfect allusions have lately

* No. 3421, Sept. 1.

† See the Examination of TORRIANO, an Italian Merchant. *Journals*, Vol. XVII.

‡ A Letter from Lisbon, which mentions their rejoicings, subjoins a curious fact. “ Their zeal here for the ejection of the Bill is very extraordinary, for the balance of trade with your country is certainly much against Portugal, who has entailed beggary on her posterity by the Methuen-Treaty; at the making of which, in one blow, 100 looms were ruined in one Province.” *Flying Post*, No. 3415. July 17, 1713.

been made, I have stated from the best authorities, and in the plainest manner I was able. Such reflections as have been suggested by them, fall more properly into the other part of this work ; but even there it is submitted to better judgments to decide how far this event is applicable or not to the business now before the nation.* I now proceed with the review of England's commerce.

Though

* It may be remarked, that these very articles in the Utrecht Treaty, which raised such a ferment in the nation, and caused so much joy when thrown out of Parliament, were looked upon, by the Negotiators, in the light of a great concession of France, in consideration of the English Minister having given up to her the right of Fishery at Newfoundland : But perhaps history cannot shew stronger instances of chicanery and finesse, than were exhibited by France through the whole of this memorable negotiation ; or, on the other hand, more striking proofs of the ill effects of bringing party prejudices into public business. This, among many others in the same collection, is shewn by the following letter from Lord BOLINGBROKE to Mr. PRIOR,

" Let France depart—the shameful expedient by which she
 " thought to bubble us, and all is well ; otherwise, by G-d,
 " both they and we are undone. So my Comps. to M. DE.
 " TORCY, and let him know, that if they do not agree with
 " the Queen, I may be a refugee. Do pray make the
 " French ashamed of their sneaking chicane. By heaven !
 " they treat like pedlars, or, which is worse, like Attornies."

See

Though the reign of George I. be not remarkable for the prosperity either of our foreign or domestic trade, yet some successful exertions were then made, the good effects of which became visible in the succeeding reign. *The Treaty of Aix la Chapelle* in 1668, had established a good understanding between England and Spain, which, in its consequences, proved highly serviceable to our commerce. Upon this foundation was raised a very advantageous Treaty, in the year 1715, which, notwithstanding the war that broke out three years after, laid open some channels of foreign trade which have never since been entirely closed.* The great relief of duties on the exportation of British manufactures,† the improvements in the iron, brass, copper, and silk works, and the liberal bounties for the encouragement of our Fisheries, are events which more than compensate for those mad and fatal delusions, which deform this æra of our

See a *Report of the Committee of Secrecy to the House of Commons*, June 9th, 1715, p. 38, 39, and in the Appendix to the Report, No. XXII. XXIII. especially Lord BOLINGBROKE's *Letter to DE TORCY.*

* Treaties of Peace, Vol. I. p. 195.—Vol. II. p. 173.

† 8 Geo. I. c. iv.

commer-

commercial history.* Too much caution cannot be used in reading the political writings in the reign which followed, when “not to be corrupted was the shame.” In this reign the meanest artifices of statecraft and faction were opposed to each other; and, in questions of the highest moment, were suffered to usurp the place of honest arguments, and rational deductions. We cannot have a more convincing proof of this, than by comparing a very popular work at that day, *On the Causes of the Decline of foreign Trade*, written by Sir MATTHEW DECKER, with the result of an accurate computation in ANDERSON’s *History of Commerce*, dispassionately drawn from the most authentic source. By DECKER we are told, that “under the pressure of public debts and taxes, with languishing manufactories, and land every day sinking in its value, it is not possible for this country long to hold the competition with her neighbours.”† By ANDERSON it appears, that, just before the war of 1739, there was every symptom of public prosperity—Lands at a high

* The annual amount of our exports at the peace of Utrecht was 6,868,480l. At the death of George I. in 1727, it was 7,891,739l.

† Quarto Edit. p. 37, 46, 52.

price, and improving—Much industry and employment—A regular interest upon money at three *per cent.*—Public credit high, and the tonnage on the commercial shipping, which, in the beginning of the century, was reckoned at 273,693 tons, and had increased at the accession of Geo. I. to 444,843 tons, but at the close of his reign, had sunk to 432,832 tons, stood in the year 1738, at 476,941 tons.* In the year 1728 and 1729, Great Britain had formed Treaties which proved very beneficial to several branches of her commerce, by procuring a vent for those capitals which had fortunately escaped the general wreck of project in the preceding reign, and which otherwise might have overcharged some of the old channels of foreign trade.† The war which broke out in 1739, and continued for upwards of nine years, at the same time that it

* *Hist. of Commerce*, Vol. II. p. 321, 322. See also, in the strain of Complaint, *Considerations on the present State of Affairs*, by Lord LYTTLETON, published in 1738.

† *Collection of Treaties*, V. II. p. 30, and the following. During the three first years of the reign of Geo. II. the amount of exports was in round numbers, 789,739l. on the annual average; whereas from 1736 to 1739, the period of impending ruin, it rose to 9,993,232l. a difference of more than two millions in favour of this unfortunate æra.

gave a check to commerce, afforded ample proof, in the national exertions which it excited, how much our naval and commercial strength, as well as internal resources, had been misrepresented ; and, in the short interval of peace which succeeded, trade not only recovered its former level, but rose to a point of still higher elevation.* These are now undisputed testimonies of increasing opulence ; yet there were then, as in preceding times, able writers, who in bold and pointed terms, pronounced the nation to be on the verge of bankruptcy.† Among the many alarms,

* During the war of 1739, the exports had sunk to £,870,499l. At the breaking out of the war of 1755, after scarcely a seven year's peace, they had risen to £2,599,112l. Mr. Chalmers observes, that "on looking over a table of trade, it appears, that the year of profound peace which immediately succeeds a war, always furnishes a great exportation, because every merchant makes haste to be rich." He instances the years 1698, 1714, 1749, 1764, 1784, as epochs of great relative commerce. *Estimate, &c.* p. 214, and his *Chronological Table of Commerce*, opposite p. 207.

† Lord Bolingbroke's *Considerations on the State of the Nation*. But this "all-accomplished statesman" had been then too long withdrawn from public life, to form accurate notions on such matters, and his peculiar situation naturally suggested spleenetic ones. See also DODDINGTON's *Diary*, March 1749, 50, and in the following years.

alarms, which it was the fashion of the times to excite on commercial topics, may be reckoned the revival of manufactures and trade in Spain, which a few years before had given rise to despondency and political invective. There was, indeed, some ground for the original report.

When the romantic DUKE DE RIPPERDA succeeded the cautious ALBERONI as minister in Spain, he found, it is said, among that statesman's papers, loose memorandums of schemes for the increase of population, and the promotion of national industry. Struck with the general idea, he employed himself, with the assistance of some principal merchants, in digesting a regular plan for that purpose. A Committee was formed to consider on the best means to recover the trade and manufactures of the country. Workmen and artificers were invited from all parts of Europe. Many clothiers and ship-carpenters were allure^d over from England ; and France lost some of her best artists from Lyons. At Segovia and Gaudalaxara, great woollen manufactories were established, and the silk-looms of Valencia,

It is worth remarking, that in the year 1754, by the spirit and liberality of Lord FOLKSTONE, Lord ROMNEY and Dr. STEPH. HALES, the *London Society, for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce in Great-Britain*, was first established,

Murcia,

Murcia, and Catalonia, already threatened to rival those in the neighbouring provinces of France. In short, were we to judge from a report delivered in by a Spanish Writer at that time, the whole trade of Europe bad fair, in the course of the present century, to fall into the hands of his countrymen.* One fact however is certain, that before the manufactory at Segovia had been three years established, the Duke clothed the Spanish troops from its looms.† But, in order to bring these schemes to maturity, the concurrence of the Sovereign was necessary; for all commercial concerns are, in Spain, under the direction of the court; and the principal part of the royal revenue arises from oppressive duties, and exorbitant demands, both on the raw materials and the manufactures of the country. Till these were removed, nothing effectual could be done. This therefore proved an insurmountable obstacle; for, as might be expected, the Court absolutely refused to part with any

* DON JERONIMO DE UZTARIZ, cited by POSTLETHWAYTE in his *Commercial Interest of Great Britain*, who always distinguishes him by the name of the Patriot-Spaniard, V. II. p. 464.

† *Memoirs of the DUKE DE RIPPERDA*, p. 100, and the following pages.

of its ancient claims; on the contrary, it began, in the true spirit of Spanish policy, to exact heavy subsidies from the newly-elected manufacturers. The most sanguine promoters of the commercial reform were discouraged, and, in their disgust, having unguardedly indulged themselves in a liberty of speech little suited to an arbitrary government, they drew down the displeasure of the court, both on themselves and their projects. This, among other causes of discontent, ended in RIPPERDA's disgrace and banishment, and totally extinguished all hopes, that Spain would again become a wealthy and industrious country.*

The war which broke out in the year 1755, necessarily threw obstructions in the way of our foreign commerce, and for a time damped the ardour of enterprize; yet, even during this war, after the first difficulties were surmounted, trade seems to have recovered its former tone; for in the year 1760 the value of exported cargoes was considerably higher than it had been in the last year of the peace. The Treaty which terminated the war in 1763,

* *Memoirs, &c.* p. 115. His manner of life, and his reflections on the reverses of his fortune, in his banishment at Segovia, are worth consulting.

though

though perhaps it did not hold forth such advantages as from our situation we might reasonably have expected, yet gave sufficient freedom and scope to commercial enterprize.* CHALMERS here gives a very pleasing picture of our opulence, and of the magnificent liberality of our merchants, who, as he very justly observes, “literally saved Europe from bankruptcy by “the superiority of their wealth, and by “the disinterestedness of their spirit.”† For when all mercantile credit and confidence seemed lost by the great failures at Hamburgh, Berlin, and Holland, the British merchants not only gave as extensive credit as ever to the unfortunate Houses, but even suspended the payment of their own acceptances, in order to remit immense sums to relieve the distress of those commercial cities, and the Bank of England, when every bill of exchange was doubtful, still continued to discount them.‡ When

* In the last year of the Peace, as we have already seen, our exports were at 12,599,112l. In 1760 they amounted to 14,693,270l. by one account, and by another to 14,694,970l. In 1763, at the Peace of Paris they rose to 14,925,950.

† *Estimate, &c.* p. 117.

‡ CHALMERS quotes a letter from the Bankers of Hamburgh to the Bankers of Amsterdam, in the Gentleman's Magazine for the year 1763, p. 422. *Estimate, &c.* p. 117. this

this voluntary pressure, so honourable for a nation to have sustained, was removed, our foreign and domestic commerce expanded beyond the example of any former age or country. From the Peace of Paris to the commencement of the late war, nothing was wanted to animate and assist the genius of an active people. Trade, manufactures, agriculture, and every subordinate department of industry, were promoted by the wise and patriotic regulations of the Legislature. Roads and canals were forced over places before deemed impassable. Wastes were enclosed, marshes drained, cities adorned, and various other means adopted to facilitate and extend domestic traffic. On the other hand, by a prudent distribution of imposts and bounties, many branches of manufactures were relieved, and carried to a point of taste and refinement, which, notwithstanding their superior price, has secured to them sure and extensive markets. In short, were a period demanded in which the balance of England's trade was most uniformly in its favour, this undoubtedly must be named from 1764 to 1774; for in these ten years, the two trades of Spain and Portugal only, netted to her a balance of 8,370,131l. Even during the late war, commerce

merce did not suffer so alarming a depression as might have been expected from such an inveterate combination against us. It appears (says CHALMERS) that, through the whole course of hostilities, our traffic never lost its elastic principle. It had an evident tendency to rise in 1779, till the Spanish war imposed an additional burthen; there was a similar tendency in 1780, when the Dutch war added in 1781 no inconsiderable weight; this year, therefore, marks the lowest degree of its depression; but in the following its vigour sprang up, and revived, and at the close of the war exhibited happy symptoms of that energy which is now every day more visibly and extensively exerted.* The foregoing review of our commercial state at different periods has no great claim to originality. Its chief merit in many parts is, that of

* *Estimate, &c.* p. 143. In the four years which immediately precede the Colonial war, our exports were at the average of 15,000,000l. and the net balance in favour of British commerce was 3,884,844l. In 1781, our exports had sunk to 10,569,187l. In 1784 they were at 14,171,375l. It is a fact worth remarking, that in the war before last our commerce was so far from being embarrassed, that merchants found it more for their interest to employ their capitals in foreign trade than in the Government loans, to which the Dutch were the principal subscribers, but in the late war the case was very different.

being

being a sketch after an admired work of an able master.*

To correct the pernicious influence of principles which Discontent suggests, and Faction disseminates, and to awaken a great, but too easily deluded people to a true sense of their political consequence (especially in a nation which has ever been remarked for an unaccountable propensity to look upon the gloomy side of events), is surely a laudable and patriotic undertaking. Such is the object proposed by the author, to whom I have so often referred in this latter part of my observations. Beside the satisfaction which the scholar and politician must receive from works thus uniting authenticity of facts with elegance of language, “*The Estimate of the comparative Strength of Great*

* *An Estimate of the comparative Strength of Great Britain, during the present and four preceding Reigns.* Edit. 1786. By GEORGE CHALMERS. From the chronological Table of Commerce inserted in this work, I have, for the most part, copied the gross amount of our exports at different periods. As it is vouched by him to be a faithful transcript from the *Ledger of the INSPECTOR GENERAL*, to which I had no opportunities of referring, I apprehend it needs no corroborative proof of its fidelity. *Estimate*, p. 218. N. B. I have omitted the exports of Scotland throughout. They appear, upon an average of years, to add about one million to the revenue.

" Britain, &c." has this to recommend it at the present hour, that the delineation it contains of our commercial history is as exhilarating as it is faithful. To the name of CHALMERS we ought with gratitude to add those of Lord SHEFFIELD and ARTHUR YOUNG, whose talents, are successfully exerted in similar works of genuine patriotism.* After giving an accurate statement of our commercial situation, YOUNG breaks out in the following manner — " An empire has been rent asunder ; " " a whole continent, so peopled as to class at " " present amongst the potentates of the world, " " has been detached from Great Britain ; and " " that event, which was purchased by the " " French, Spaniards, and Dutch, at an expence " " of probably more than a hundred and forty " " million sterling, as the surest means of pul- " " ling down this country, has been so far from " " having any such effect, that we are proved, " " on the most authentic records, to be more " " flourishing, and consequently more formi- " " dable, than at any former period since the " " foundation of the monarchy." † To what we must ascribe this vital strength, which nei-

* See Lord SHEFFIELD's *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*, 6th Edit. 1784, with an Appendix.

† *Annals of Agriculture*, No. 29, p. 423.

ther war or faction, or the spirit of luxury, has been able to subdue, will be obvious on a little reflection. That the support was never *transatlantic*, as some have idly imagined, our present commercial situation sufficiently demonstrates. May we not rather, with an acute Politician of the present day, attribute this phænomenon of an almost uniform superiority of our commerce to something like the following principles? The suppression of various monopolies and companies of trade at home, and the undermining of their exclusive privileges, or, what is the same thing, the eluding of their bad effects by means of legal decisions in our courts of law: The nursing up of new trades, and new branches of commerce, by means of bounties and national premiums: The giving of drawbacks on the exportation of such goods as were to have paid a duty if consumed at home: The repeal of taxes on raw materials, and on exported manufactures of our country: The improvement of engines, and new discoveries for the abridgment of labour: The rapid communication by means of roads, canals and posts: The happy discoveries in agriculture, and the mechanic arts, the fruits of that patriotic liberality which has been of late so eminently

* TUCKER's *Four Tracts*, p. 213.

exerted among us in public institutions, and societies for the encouragement of industry and useful skill; and the natural result of all this national spirit, the employment of larger capitals in husbandry and manufactures, and in the importation and exportation of goods; all these circumstances co-operating, would render any country rich and flourishing, whether it had colonies or not.

No wonder then that the Sceptre of commerce continues firm in the hands of a nation where Personal Rights are sacred, and where every species of Property finds protection and security in the freedom of Civil Government and the equal administration of Law.

T H E

T A R I F F.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THOUGH the kind communication of some intelligent manufacturers has put me in possession of materials sufficiently valuable and authentic, I have not, according to my original design, entered into such details as this information would enable me to do; being unwilling to swell a pamphlet into a volume, with matters known to be *officially* in other hands, much better qualified to lay them before the public. The following Remarks however may not be less useful, or amusing, though they convey little information that is new to a Statesman or a Politician.

T H E

T A R I F F.

I. THE two High Contracting Parties have thought proper to settle the duties on certain goods and merchandizes, in order to fix invariably the footing on which the trade therein shall be established between the two Nations. In consequence of which they have agreed upon the following TARIFF, viz.

The *Wines* of France, imported directly from France into Great Britain, shall, in no case, pay any higher duties than those which the wines of Portugal now pay.

The Wines of France, imported directly from France into Ireland, shall pay no higher duties than those which they now pay.

2. The Vinegars of France, instead of sixty-seven pounds five shillings and three-pence, and twelve twentieths of a pound sterlⁱng per ton, which they now pay, shall not, for the future, pay, in Great Britain any higher duties than thirty-two pounds, eighteen shillings, and ten-pence, and sixteen twentieths of a penny sterlⁱng, per ton. *

3. The Brandies of France, instead of nine shillings and sixpence and twelve twentieths of a penny sterlⁱng, shall for the future pay, in Great Britain, only seven shillings sterlⁱng per gallon, making four quarts, English measure.

4. Oil of Olives, coming directly from

* The present duties on *Vinegars* are for every ton imported 13*l.* if by strangers, 14*l.* 10*s.* by 18 Geo. II. c. ix. By 3 Geo. III. c. xii. an additional duty of 1*l.* are laid on all French Vinegars, to which 8*s.* 8*d.* a ton more are laid by 18 Geo. III. c. xxvii. and another 8*s.* in addition to this by 20 Geo. III. c. xxx. On home Vinegar, there is for every barrel containing 34 gallons, a duty of 8*s.* 9*d.* by 10 and 11 W. III. c. xxi. and by 19 Geo. III. c. xxv. an additional duty of 3*s.* five per cents, which is further regulated by 21 Geo. III. c. xvii. and 22 Geo. III. c. lxvi.—Every maker of Vinegar for sale is required by 24 Geo. III. c. xli. to take out an annual licence of 10*l.*

France, shall for the future, pay no higher duties than are now paid for the same from the most favoured nations. *

5. Beer shall pay reciprocally a duty of thirty per cent. *ad valorem.* †

6. The

* *The Oil of Olives* is that which is most generally used in *Medicine, Food, and Manufacture.* It appears to have been brought to great perfection by the ancients. Most of their georgical writers have dwelt upon the method of cultivating this fruit, and of preparing it for œconomical uses. See COLUMELLA, p. 73, and VARRO, p. 105, in *Scriptores de Re Rusticâ*, edit. 1734. The *Olive* delights in a dry soil, and thrives in the most barren spots, -as on the mountains of Pisa, and the coast of Genoa, where the eye can discover nothing but vast rocks of stone; but it grows best on gentle hills, defended from North winds and exposed to the sea air; though the people of Lucca and Tuscany, by their extreme industry, make it succeed even in low grounds. Dr. SYMONDS, in *the Soil of Italy*, in YOUNG's *Annals of Agriculture*, V. II. p. 211. Much of the oil used in our woollen manufactories is from Gallipoli imported hither immediately from Naples. We take great quantities also from the South of France and from Candia. All *Olive Oils* imported in foreign ships, though by British subjects, are liable to *Aliens* duty, 12 Car. II. c. xviii. § 9. BALDWIN on the *British Customs*, p. 45.

† When goods are to pay *ad valorem*, that value must be ascertained by the *two Books of Rates* set forth by Parliamentary Authority, 12 Car. II. c. iv. and 11 Geo. I. c. vii.

6. The duties on *Hardware, Cutlery, Cabinet Ware, and Turnery*, and also all works both heavy and light, of Iron, Steel, Copper, and Brass, shall be classed; and the highest duty shall not exceed ten per cent. *ad valorem.*

7. All

or if not rated, by the oath of the importer, or by the price at a public sale.

It is known that the French make *Beer*, not only with barley, but with wheat, oats, and rye; a sort made with oats and birch water is strongly recommended in Nephritic cases. *Philos. Transf.* No. XCVII. p. 6135. The chief trade of France in this article is domestic, namely with Paris, Picardy, and French Flanders. Their duties are regulated by the Tariff of 1664, and are upon exportation, at the rate of 26 sols the ton, and upon importation 12 sols the barrel, with an additional rate for England.

By 1 Geo. III. c. vii. strong beer or ale may be exported with an allowance of 8s. the barrel to the brewer by way of drawback. *Hops* are under a variety of restrictions in our laws. 9 Ann. c. xii. among other things annexes a penalty of 50l. to the removal of hops before they have been bagged and weighed, and a like penalty on not entering the places of curing and keeping them, with 20l. for concealing hops, as also on any brewer who shall substitute any other bitter ingredient. By 10 Geo. III. c. xliv. a penalty of 100l. is inflicted for using false scales and weights. By 14 Geo. III. c. 68. the Officer shall forfeit 5l. if he neglect to weigh the bags or pockets, and to mark on them the time, weight or tare, the planter's name and place of abode, and the date of the year in which

7. All sorts of Cottons, * manufactured in the dominions of the two Sovereigns in Europe, and also Woollens, whether *knit* or *wove*, including *Hosiery*, shall pay, in both countries, an *import duty* of twelve per cent. *ad valorem*; all manufactures of Cotton or Wool, mixed with Silk, excepted, which shall remain prohibited on both sides.

8. Cambrics and Lawns † shall pay, in both countries, an import duty of five shillings
or

which such hops were grown. The altering, forging, or obliterating of such mark incurs a penalty of 10l. By a late act, five per cent. is added to the other duties on hops:

* We have an account of the industry of the town of Manchester as early as the year 1641. "The town of Manchester buys linen yarn of the Irish in great quantities, and weaving it, returns the same again in linen; neither doth her industry rest here, for she buys cotton-wool in London, that comes from Cyprus and Smyrna, and works it into fustians, vermillions, dimmities, &c." LEWIS ROBERTS, *Treasure of Traffic*. There is a great cotton manufactory at Rouen in Normandy. It was with concern, that in the year 1784, I heard of several Englishmen employed there, two of whom had worked for 13 years at Manchester. Cotton works have, within these few years, been established, with success, both in Ireland and Scotland.

† By 32 Geo. II. no *Cambrics* or *French Lawns* shall
be

or six livres Tournois, per demi piece of seven yards and three quarters, English measure; and linens made of flax or hemp, manufactured in the dominions of the two Sovereigns in Europe, shall pay no higher duties, either in Great Britain or France, than linens manufactured in Holland or Flanders, imported into Great Britain, now pay.

And Linens made of flax or hemp manufac-

be imported, unless they be packed in bales, cases, or boxes, covered with sackcloth or canvass, containing each 100 whole pieces. These shall be imported only for exportation, to be lodged in the King's warehouses, and not to be delivered out but under the like security and restrictions as prohibited East-India goods: and no customs or duties whatever shall be paid or secured thereon, other than half the old subsidy, which is to remain by law after the goods are exported. Other restrictions on the importation, the wearing and the selling of foreign *Cambrics* and *Lawn*s are to be found in 18 Geo. II. c. xxxvi.—21 Geo. II. c. xxvii.—4 Geo. III. c. xxxvii.—and 7 Geo. III. c. xlivi. We are at present supplied from the manufactories of Ireland and Scotland. It may be questioned, whether those countries will long find it their interest to promote such fabrics as *Cambric*, *Lawn*, or *Gauze*, to the check of their linen works, for it seems like preferring a precarious article of manufacture to one which is secure. It is said, that there are in Glasgow alone more than 1000 *Muslin* looms. St. Quentin and Cambray are as principal manufactories for all these articles as any in France.

tured

tured in Ireland or France, shall reciprocally pay no higher duties than linens manufactured in Holland, imported into Ireland, now pay.

9. *Sadlery* shall reciprocally pay an impost duty of fifteen per cent. ad valorem.

10. Gauzes of all sorts shall reciprocally pay ten per cent. ad valorem.

11. Millinery made up of Muslin, Lawn, Cambric, or Gauze of every kind, or of any other article admitted under the present *Tariff*, shall pay reciprocally a duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem; and if any articles shall be used therein, which are not specified in the Tariff, they shall pay no higher duties than those paid for the same articles by the most favoured Nations.

12. *Porcelain, Earthen-ware and Pottery*, shall pay reciprocally twelve per cent. ad valorem.

13. *Plate-glass*, and Glass-ware in general, shall be admitted on each side, paying a duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem.*

CUSTOMS.

* Most of the duties on Glass granted by 19 Geo. II. c. xii. were repealed by an act passed in 1777, and the following duties imposed; for all plate enamel, stained and paste glass, and on all window glass, and every other kind of white glass, the sum of one shilling and four pence the pound

C U S T O M S.

A succinct and general account of the CUSTOMS necessarily claims a place in a work of this nature.

Though the first *formal* Establishment of CUSTOMS and duties on the imports and exports of this kingdom occur in the reign of EDWARD I. yet by that very act we are informed of their prior existence. At the opening of the fourteenth century, this King, upon consideration of the many immunities and privileges granted by him to foreign merchants, residing in and pound weight; and for all green glass in bottles, four shillings for every dozen of quarts; and for materials used in the manufacture of plate and phial glass, eighteen shillings, and eight pence the cwt. for making of broad-window glass, seven shillings cwt. for making of crown glass, fourteen shillings cwt. and for common bottles, &c. three shillings and six-pence cwt.

Few manufactures require a larger capital or greater profits to support it, than this; for a single furnace costs £3500, and is five or six years in building; beside such accidents as in many other branches are immaterial, are in this of the highest consequence, for merely the bursting of a pot of glass in the fire, will often incur a loss of £250.

France has nine principal Glass Works, five of which are in the forest of Lyons, the other four in the district of Eu, at Beaumont, near Rouen, and in Rue St. Antoine, at Paris. Our principal Plate Glass manufacture is near Prescot in Lancashire.

trading with this island, by the advice and consent of his Parliament, published a declaration of these privileges, annexing as the price of his protection certain *Customs* and *Duties* to be paid by them on merchandizes either imported or exported.*

GILBERT conceives these privileges to have consisted chiefly in having the full use of the King's warehouses, weights, measures, &c.† This royal declaration is called CHARTA MERCATORIA,§ and may be considered as containing the simple elements of that very intricate system of imposts, which has been gradually accumulating ever since, to the great hindrance and confusion of commerce.

It is unnecessary here to enumerate the several species which arose between that æra and the great Statute of 12 Carol. II. c. iv. which established the subsidy of tonnage and poundage, or as it is more technically called, the Old Subsidy, which is the foundation of our present *Customs*; neither is it the present purpose to dwell

* RYMER'S *Fœdera*, Tom. III. fol. 269. See the answer given by Edward II. to Philip the Fair, upon his requesting to have French Merchants released from a certain duty.

† History of the Exchequer, p. 214.

§ *Fœdera*, Tom. IV. fol. 361.

on the dispute whether or not the Customs be part of the revenue of the Crown by *Common Law*: a point which, above all others, contributed to those violent struggles between prerogative and privilege at the beginning of the last century.*

I shall only observe that it appears from *Magna Charta* that certain customs, as on Wool, Woolfells, and Leather, were paid to the Crown, previously to any act of parliament. Still the right has constantly been disputed, and the rolls of parliament swarm with instances of protestations against it. BLACKSTONE thinks that SIR EDWARD COKE has plainly shewn that the King's first claim to Customs was by *Grant of Parliament*, 3 Edward I.† which probably alludes to that very event already mentioned, as the first *formal establishment* of our Customs; and HALE says, even of *Prisage* (a duty peculiarly belonging to the Crown) "That is a "custom settled in the Crown by *Common Law*,

* See a sketch of these struggles prefixed to the celebrated *Case of Impositions* in *State Trials*, Vol. XI. It may here be remarked, that the act which granted the duties of tonnage and poundage after the Restoration, has these cautious words: "No rates can be imposed on merchandizes "imported or exported by subjects or aliens, but, by *Consent of Parliament.*" 12 Carol. II. c. iv. sec. 6.

† *Commentaries*, B. I. c. viii.

" yet

“ yet not so inseparable from the Crown, nor so personal to the King, but it may be discharged or transferred.”†

The following are the principal branches of our present Customs.

1. The OLD SUBSIDY, which consists of a tonnage duty on Wines imported, and a poundage duty on other goods imported.

2. PETTY CUSTOMS OR ALIENS DUTY, payable by Merchant-Strangers on all goods imported, which are liable to the subsidy of poundage.

3. ADDITIONAL DUTY on tonnage and poundage added to the former.

4. ONE PER CENT. INWARDS, payable upon all *imports to Great Britain, from any place of the Mediterranean Sea*, beyond the port of Malaga, in any vessel that hath not two decks, sixteen guns, and the proportion of two men to each gun.

5. COMPOSITION ON PETTY SEIZURES. The moiety paid to the Crown by the Commissioners of the Customs for seizures under the

† See a Treatise lately published in HARGRAVE’s *Law Tracts*, from a MS. of Lord Chief Justice HALE, in three parts, the last of which treats with great legal erudition on “The Customs of Goods imported and exported.”

value of forty shillings, for which they are allowed to compound.

These five only, in the strict sense of the revenue laws, are properly called THE CUSTOMS. There are however various others by the names of Imposts on Wines, Vinegar, Tobacco, Coinage, Duties, Excise, &c. whence the Crown revenue arises; though most of the distinctions are now dropped, except by the officers immediately concerned, their produce being all blended together under the one denomination of THE CUSTOMS.* We may observe that originally these duties were levied both on importation and exportation, but for many years, with few exceptions, the new Customs have been raised on importations only.

The statute of 12 Carol. II. c. iv. establishes two very plain systems. By the one a specific sum is charged on a certain quantity, a ton of wine, for example; by the other, rates or imaginary values are annexed to all other goods of common importation, and a proportional duty is levied on each article. Had the simplicity of this plan been strictly followed in all subsequent imposts, that confusion and inequa-

* CUNNINGHAM'S *History of Taxes*, p. 88, and the following. BLACKSTONE'S *Comment.* B. I. c. viii.

lity which prevails in our Customs would have been avoided ; but this is so far from being the case, that even in less than twelve years from the publication of this act, the legislature began to deviate from its principles, and, regardless of the original rates therein annexed, charged several articles according to their measure and weight.* Since that time almost every statute which has added a fresh duty, has unavoidably increased the perplexity. “ It were to be wished (says the “ last compiler of our customs) that the whole “ of our imposts had been framed upon a more “ uniform plan, and that both the convenience “ and beauty of system had been preserved. But “ the defect cannot now be easily removed.”† The great extent of the *Books of Rates*,§ and the want of perspicuity in the arrangement, calls aloud

* 22 Carol. II. c. iv. 25 Carol. II. c. vii.

† BALDWIN in the preface to his *Survey of British Customs*, &c. p. 4.

§ The Customs are chiefly contained in two books of Rates, set forth by Parliamentary authority ; one by 12 Carol. II. c. iv. the other by 11 Geo. I. c. vii. It was to the liberality, no less than to the perseverance of the House of Peers, that the public were at last indebted in 1696, for the establishment of the *Inspector General* of the imports and exports, and for the *Custom-house Ledger*, which contains the particulars and value of both, and which forms there-

aloud for an attempt at reformation. The person who shall engage in such a task, I would wish to remind of what the great Financier of France has observed on the same perplexed state in which he found the fiscal legislation of his country. “ This strange arrangement of our “ customs,” says he, “ has absolutely supported “ itself by its own defects ; the multiplicity of “ particular cases, the accumulation of rules, the “ confusion of principles ; in short, all that “ antique contexture woven into so many knots, “ has constantly presented the idea of an im- “ mensive enterprise, whenever attempts have “ been made to proceed to a reform, by studying “ details : But when I took a contrary method, “ by making myself master of the *whole collec-*
tively by reflection, and by taking pains to “ discern the principle divisions, and the ele- “ ments, as well as the *results* of each, the whole “ affair became simplified.”* As great a source of confusion and inequality as any, is, the great

fore the most useful record, with regard to trade, that any country possesses. CHALMERS’s *Estimate of the Comparative Strength, &c.* pref. p. 7.

* NECKER’s *Administration of the Finances*, V. II. p. 167, of MORTIMER’s Translation. This minister’s plan is a beautiful example of Analysis, for the imitation of a statesman in any department.

difference

difference which often subsists between the *real* and the *nominal* value of duties on foreign articles. When the rates were affixed in the reign of Charles II. they were then equal to the *real* values, but since that time, the decline of the value of money, with other causes, has contributed to raise the *prices* above the *rates*, insomuch that often when the duties are 25 or 26 per cent. on the *rates*, this will not be more than 7 or 8 per cent. on the *real value*. In the article of linens this is obviously the case, and it caused no small contradictions in the reports and opinions on that manufacture, when it was taken into consideration by parliament some few years ago.

The bulk as well as the form of our Customs has been also a subject of complaint to some writers on commercial politics. The duties on all exports of British Manufacture, except on some few articles which were regarded as *materials*, were removed in the year 1722, but no relief was given to imports; on the contrary, they have, in most instances, been gradually burthened with new duties. These high and numerous imposts, it has been thought, are attended with many evils in such a country as England. Among the principal perhaps may be reckoned a check

on the increase of capitals, and the possible improvements of manufactories; an encouragement to smuggling, and above all, by enhancing the price of articles necessary in the construction and fitting out of ships, as hemp, flax, iron, &c. the consequent discouragement to navigation and commerce. I have chosen these instances, because it is by a superiority in them that our mercantile system is characterized; and were such salutary reliefs permitted to co-operate with this national spirit, it is not easy to conceive what might in time be the extent and perfection of our foreign trade and domestic industry. MR. LOCKE was ever of opinion that high duties encouraged rather than depressed the consumption of foreign commodities. "The emulation," says he, "ever is, who shall have the finest, "that is, the dearest things, not the most convenient or useful. How many things do we "value and buy because they come at dear rates "from Japan and China, which, if they were "our own manufacture or produce, would be "contemned or neglected? Have not several of "our commodities offered to sale been despised, "and the very same eagerly bought for "French at a double price? You must not "think therefore that the raising their price will

"lessen

“ lessen the vend of fashionable foreign com-
 “ modities among us, but rather increase it :”*
 and DE WITT in his Memoirs pursues precisely
 the same train of argument ;† which seems
 confirmed by an observation of GEE, on the
 fashion of preferring French Wines, after the
 duties were laid on at the latter end of the last
 century : for, says he “ though they were raised
 “ to £ 80 per ton, or more, some particular im-
 “ porters chose rather to keep up those high
 “ prices than to have them cheaper ; and being
 “ asked why they thus chose to keep up the
 “ prices, they answered, that gentlemen would
 “ not think it good unless it cost 5 or 6 shillings
 “ a flask.”‡ It is true indeed, that imposts may
 be carried so far as to become prohibitions, and
 in that case also they might be as prejudicial as in
 the other ; for as says SWIFT humorously, “ in the
 “ Arithmetic of the Customs, *two* and *two* do
 “ not always make *four*, but often only *ONE*.”

It is not on foreign Articles alone that many
 Writers on finance have argued for the relief

* LOCKE’s *Considerations on Trade, &c.* p. 93, and again
 p. 116.

† Edit. Ratisbon, p. 77. DR. SMITH computes that
 taking together all the restraints upon French goods at the
 commencement of the late war, they must have amounted to
 75 per cent.

‡ *Trade consider'd, &c.* p. 141.

of Customs. The exportation of domestic commodities, notwithstanding much beneficial reform, has been oppressed by them. It will be said, perhaps, that in most cases *Drawbacks* have been applied to counteract the effects of these duties; but, beside the injudicious mode often of applying them, the policy of the measure itself (except in the case of foreign goods imported for re-exportation) may be questioned. The various frauds practised in this line frequently brings a certain loss on the revenue, without either altering or extending the state of the Trade; for it is a known fact, that this mode of encouraging commerce and manufactures alone amounts to near a million a year.* It was ever considered as the most prudent plan in fiscal police, and as such was, as we have seen, in a great measure adopted in this country, to discharge all Customs payable on domestic manufactures at their exportation, and also on the raw materials used in them at their importation. By the first, the merchant will be encouraged to send more goods on better terms abroad; and by the last, the manufacturer will be enabled to sell cheaper at home.

W I N E S.

Before the Revolution, the Æra of those mer-

* YOUNG's *Annals of Agriculture, &c.* No. I. p. 44.
cantile

cantile jealousies between France and England, which gave rise to the monopolizing system of restrictions and prohibitions, the Wines of Bourdeaux and Languedoc were sold in London at eighteen and twenty pounds a Ton, and more than two-thirds of the consumption through the whole Kingdom was imported in English bottoms. * But in the year 1713, in consequence of heavy duties, their price had risen to nine shillings the gallon, which, according to a regulation of 5 Anne, ch. xxvii. fixing the Wine Ton at 252 gallons, amounts to 113l. 8s. the Ton. †

From general observation it appears, that the most thriving, and the richest-flavoured Vineyards, are those situated between the 40th and 50th degrees. In these latitudes, we find Portugal, Spain, France, Switzerland, Italy, Hungary, part of Greece, and the Southern Circles of Germany, countries which undoubtedly produce excellent Wines. For general use, those of France have ever been preferred; and among them, the Wines of Burgundy, Champagne, and the neighbourhood of Vienne, are esteemed the best. I shall readily be ex-

* DAVENANT's *Political Works*, V. III. p. 146. Edit. 1723.

† A weekly Paper of that day, called the *Bristol Post-Boy*, No. 625.

culed reciting the long catalogue of names by which they are distinguished, when it is known, that the province of Burgundy alone produces eighteen or twenty different sorts : they usually receive their titles either from the spot of cultivation, or the various modes of preparing the liquor. The Wines of the southern provinces are of a stronger body than those made in other parts of the kingdom; Languedoc, in particular, produces a sort which has all the fulness of the Portugal grape, with a very superior flavour, and is purchased in the country for about 12l. the Ton. Bourdeaux, Rochelle, Nantes, Rouen, Marseilles, Toulon, are the principal places where the Wines of France are shipped for exportation, and it is calculated that near 6000 Tons are sent annually to England from Bourdeaux alone. According to the statement of Mr. NECKER, France exports yearly, in Wines and Brandies, to the value of 1,640,625l.* yet it is well understood that this branch of trade, under proper regulations, might still be considerably increased. At present, beside the original expences of the land, and the necessary costs of preparing its produce, the proprietor of a Vineyard is chargeable with heavy duties at every step he takes towards exportation ; the

* *Administration of Finance, &c.* V. II. p. 117.

conveyance of the Wine to Bourdeaux, a Commission to the boat-master upon its receipt and delivery, Fees to the officers for affixing the town mark, and certain port duties before the goods can be discharged, or the bill of freight delivered. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, there are circumstances which render this species of property in France more eligible than most others. It was not, as some imagined, because the land was unfit for any other purpose, that the proportion of Vineyards had so much increased some years ago as to require an edict to restore such estates as had been purchased and planted, to their original cultivation; for it was found that much land, which had produced excellent crops of corn, was at that time converted into Vineyards. It is very natural to prefer a species of property which is free and secure, to one which is casual and restricted. Property in *Wine*, by reason of the person who holds it being at liberty either to store it up, or to carry it to a home or a foreign market, has, in France, these advantages over property in *Corn*. Beside, with very few exceptions, the Wine-trade is not like that of Corn, entangled with monopolies, so that the expences and risk of cultivation, at least, are answered by the competition of purchasers. Contrary also to the custom on estates in Corn lands, the proprietor of a Vineyard usually

usually keeps it in his own hands, and as such a stock as would be necessary in the management of a farm is never required in a Vineyard, he thence derives an obvious advantage; for, as it has been observed, while those who are employed in its cultivation sometimes want even the necessaries of life, the landlord makes from three to five pounds an acre.

It should appear that the cultivation of Vineyards has proved in France very favourable to population; for it has been asserted, that the same space which, in a Corn country, employs 1400 persons, requires more than 2600 when planted with Vines.* If this be really the case, would it not shew more wisdom in the French Government, if instead of issuing Edicts for *disvineyarding* large tracts of country, it would turn its attention towards a removal of the unmerciful restrictions, both upon the transportation and exportation of Corn? † This, by laying open a larger market for the vend of the commodity, would induce many to set their hands heartily to the plough, and by lowering the price of grain, would enable the peasantry to live less wretchedly than they do at present.

* BEAUSOBRE, *Etude de la Politique, &c.* Tom. I. p. 51.

† This was in some measure done in 1768, but not in a manner sufficiently liberal to produce its full effect.

By such a measure, the increase of farms would, it is highly probable, be so far from diminishing the number or extent of Vineyards, that it would rather encourage and improve them; with this difference, perhaps, that many fertile spots, now misapplied to the culture of the vine, would be seen bearing plentiful harvests of grain, while the barren heaths of Guienne, the mountains of Auvergne, and other unprofitable parts of the country, would be glowing with luxuriant vintages. This reciprocal benefit is actually seen to take place, in some instances, even under the present regulations; for it is remarked, that Corn is no where better cultivated in France, than in the richest Wine provinces.

Beside the advantage that France will derive from England, should the present Treaty take effect, a large market is now open to her Wines in America, which hitherto was supplied chiefly from Madeira, Lisbon, and Fayal, unless indeed this extensive country should succeed in cultivating the vine in some of her southward provinces. This is far from being improbable, when we recollect the result of an experiment once made there. " Between thirty and forty years ago, a provincial act passed in South Carolina, by which a bounty of 60l. proclamation-money was to be given to any person that should produce a pipe of sound merchantable Wine,

" made

“ made from vines of the growth of the colony.
 “ A man of the name of Thorpe did receive
 “ the bounty for three pipes; his Vineyard was
 “ within thirty miles of Charles-Town, and was
 “ under the care of a certain Portuguese pro-
 “ cured for the purpose, but at his death the
 “ land was converted to other uses.”* Lord
 SHEFFIELD is of opinion notwithstanding, that
 America is never likely to be a good Wine
 country; but should this really prove to be the
 case, it will be owing to other causes than de-
 fects either of soil or climate, principally per-
 haps to that preference which is at present given
 to the cultivation of rice and tobacco. But
 how, it may be asked, is England likely to be
 affected by such a revolution in the state of
 French agriculture, and so wide an extension
 of the Wine trade? Without adverting to the
 common, but very just argument on the supe-
 rior advantage which every commercial country
 ought to obtain from rich and industrious com-
 petitors over one whose customers are poor and
 indolent, let it be remembered, that fair com-
 petition must, in every point of view, be a spur
 to industry; in any single branch of trade its

* Lord SHEFFIELD's *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*, p. 56, a Note.

good effects are soon visible among that particular class of merchants or manufacturers; but when it is encouraged between different departments of trade, it then becomes manifest in the general industry and opulence of a nation. The same reasoning may be applied to the case of two neighbouring kingdoms, where a competition, especially of the latter sort, must naturally tend to increase the demand and improve the quality of those articles in which they respectively excel. There is not much cause, therefore, for England's jealousy at any increase of demand on the vintages of France. What loss does the woollen-draper sustain by the improving trade of his neighbour the wine-merchant? Has he not rather cause to rejoice in an event which, by furnishing the whole neighbourhood with a richer customer, must necessarily bring into his hands some share of his success? In the same manner both reason and experience should teach us, that from this dreaded extension of the Wine-trade of France, our own staple commodities will necessarily derive many future benefits in the woollen, iron, and hard-ware manufactories. But, it is urged, this is not the only objection—Portugal is a better customer than France, and therefore we ought in return to deal with her in preference. Suppose, for a moment,

moment, that this were a fact, “ Are the sneaking arts of underling tradesmen to be thus erected into political maxims for the conduct of a great empire?” * A liberal trader purchases at the cheapest and best market, with no regard to such little interests as this. It appears, however, from undeniable proofs, that our favourite trade with Portugal has long been on the decline, and gradually turning more and more against us for almost these last thirty years. At present our exports to that country scarcely amount; upon an average of ten years, (except during the short space of our late Spanish hostilities, which naturally caused them to increase) to one half of what they did in the year 1760. † The fact is, the interchange of the two countries was never settled upon a fair and equal foot of reciprocity, and the Portuguese thus taking advantage of an original defect in the *Methuen-Treaty*, have allowed the woollen manufactures of other countries to compete with ours in their markets. In the article of linens

* SMITH’s *Wealth of Nations*, B. IV. ch. iii.

† Where the imports are materials for manufacture, a trade may be considerably against a country, and yet be, upon the whole, a beneficial one. This was the case with our Russia trade; but it does not hold good in the present instance of our intercourse with Portugal,

they

they have decidedly given the preference to France; and as to our cottons, they have put them under an absolute prohibition. The clamours that have constantly been raised on every attempt in this country to reduce the enormous duties on French Wines, and the threats of Portugal to withdraw from a Treaty she has so palpably violated, ought surely to give us no alarm; the present effects of that Treaty will not justify it. But what would be the consequence supposing these threats to be actually executed, and the prohibitions on both sides established? Why, clearly this; that Portugal has effectually lost a market for near 12,000 tons annually of such Wines as no other country will purchase of her; while the superior quality and cheapness of our woollens must secure them a market any where, and “ probably “ under another name, and by another channel, “ even in Portugal itself.” *

B R A N-

* Lord SHEFFIELD, to whose excellent writings I am indebted for the above remark, has in a clear manner shewn, that in Ireland the consumption of Portugal Wine has greatly increased within these last twenty years, and that French Wines have proportionably diminished. (*Observations, Americ. Comm.* in the Appendix, p. 291) Ireland exports to Portugal camblets and butter; her woollens were not included in the Treaty of 1703. The preference she has

B R A N D I E S.

The *Wine Brandy* of France is in the highest estimation, and by a decree of Parliament in the year 1699, this is the only sort permitted to be sold in Paris, under a heavy penalty.

The provinces of Poictou, Anjou, Touraine, Orleans, and the district of Nantes produce the best that is applied to home-consumption; the different kinds for exportation are made in Bourdeaux, Cogniac, Charente, Burgundy, and Champagne; though the aforesigned provinces of Poictou, &c. supply a great deal also for this purpose. Brandies, indeed, are made in almost all the wine countries, though it is observed, that the superior wines make the worst; accordingly in many places they only apply them to this service when they are pricked, or otherwise injured. The rich-flavoured vintages of Greece, and of the southward parts of Italy, afford very little Brandy, and of an inferior quality: the yearly export of this article

has lately given to the Portuguese Wines, is with a view of being put on a foot, in this respect, with great Britain; and there is reason to think, that she is able to reap considerable benefit from such an admission. Her exports to Portugal in 1783, were 174,493l. her imports, 92000l. and it is said these were paid for by her exported Butter alone.

from

from France is computed at more than half a million sterlings;* at the latter end of the last century, when the duty was no more than 9l. a ton, this country imported annually upwards of 6000 tons; † in consequence of the high duties at present subsisting, the consumption has long been diminished, and upon an average of late years the quantity imported has sunk three fifths. The merchants of Rochelle and Nantes seldom freight a ship either for America, Africa, or the North Seas, without making Brandy a part of the cargo. We receive a considerable quantity of our consumption through the hands of the Dutch, who carry on an extensive trade with France in this article. It has been a received opinion, that although neither English malt or molasses spirit have ever been brought to the perfection of Wine-Brandy, yet the fault is not so much in the grain or fruit whence the extract is made, as in the manner of preparation. Both grapes and grain have the same principles of oil, salt, phlegm and earth, and differ only in the quantity and connection of those principles. A patent, not many years ago, was obtained for making Brandy

* NECKER's *Administration of Finance*, Vol. II. p. 207.

† *Considerations on Trade, &c.* in the year 1724.

from carrots and parsnips; the latter, it was found, after a variety of curious experiments, made a liquor very nearly resembling the Wine-Brandy.

If the motives for complaint be exactly stated, it is not without reason, that our West-India merchants have taken alarm at the reduction of duties on this article, imported from France, as proposed in the Tariff. From the memorial presented by them to the Minister, the result of their meetings, and the opinion of intelligent individuals on the subject, the following appears to be the sum of their apprehensions and their wishes.

They request that the *Rum* of the British West-India Islands should be put upon the same foot with regard to the *Brandies* of France, that the wines of Portugal are to the wines of France; for, unless such a proportionate adjustment of duties take place, the sale of a foreign produce will be encouraged to the detriment, and perhaps the ruin, of what may be termed a domestic one. It is well known that Rum must pay more freight from the place of production than Brandy, and that it suffers more by leakage and evaporation, requires larger capital, and from the nature of the trade renders the merchant liable to greater loss of

of interest upon it. This, among other instances, might be exemplified in several late obstructions of the intercourse between the Islands and North America, which, to the great disadvantage of the trader, must necessarily always turn the superfluous Rum into the British market. It appears moreover, that while these obstructions have risen in this staple of West-India trade, the French have been industriously facilitating the vend of their brandies by a variety of regulations. That the interests of the sugar-trade are so naturally connected with those of Rum, that whatever impedes the one must injure the other.* That this trade is of no small assistance to the marine skill and spirit of Great Britain, by reason of the length of the voyage and the number of British ships and seamen employed in it, whereas the Brandy-trade will be carried on in short trips between England and France, with a large proportion of French vessels and crews. That on this account, added to the consideration that prime cost, freight and insurance are all higher, the quantity of Rum smuggled from the West-Indies is very small, compared with that of

* It is said the Rum insures to the planter the expences and casualties of the sugar; and they reckon, that each hogshead of sugar produces from 40 to 60 gallons of Rum.

Brandies from France ; the duties therefore on the former are more faithfully collected. That as the prime cost of Brandy in France is upon the average 1s. 2½d. a gallon, and that of Rum 2s. 4d. in order to preserve a just proportion in the reduction of the duties on each, if those on Brandies, as proposed in the Tariff, be lowered two shillings and sixpence the gallon, those on Rum should be lowered one shilling and nine pence. *

Such appear to be the principal grounds of complaint from this respectable body of merchants, whose remonstrance, there is little doubt, will have its due weight in the deliberations of Parliament, especially when it is considered also what an injury our home-distilleries may receive by precipitately exposing them to an unequal competition. Will it not, moreover, admit of a doubt, whether the proposed rate of reduction of the duties on French Brandies be sufficient to prevent smuggling, for even the duty of 7s. the gallon, is almost 500 per cent. on the prime cost, and whether by such an ineffectual reduction of the duties, the revenue will not sustain a considerable loss with-

* See "the Memorial of the General Meeting of the West-India Merchants and Planters," presented to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

out any adequate compensation or advantage to the public. *

IRON, STEEL, and COPPER.

There is scarcely any branch of manufacture in which labour and ingenuity are seen to add more to the original value of materials than in that of Iron and Steel; of this the beautiful fabrics of Birmingham and Sheffield afford numerous examples, and it is equally as evident in the stupendous foundries at Carron and Cole-broke Dale, as in the minutest operation of the

* The principal laws which regulate the duties on the importation of Brandies, are 7 and 8 W. III. c. xx. laying a duty of 30l. the ton on single, and 60l. the ton on double proof, repealed by 6 Geo. II. c. xvii. § 2; which, instead of it, levies an excise of 1s. for every gallon of single proof, to be paid by the importer before landing, over and above all other duties, and of 2s. on double proof. See, also 2 W. and M. c. ix. § 12. 12 W. III. c. xi. § 8. 3 Ann. c. iv. v. 5 Ann. c. xix. made perpetual by 1 Geo. I. c. xii. 6 Geo. I. c. xxii. § 12. 8 Geo. I. c. xviii. § 11. 6 Geo. III. c. xlvi. The act passed 1 W. and M. c. xxxiv. which entirely prohibits the importation of French goods, appears by the preamble to have been intended principally for the encouragement of the home distilleries; this is the more probable, because in the following year a heavy duty was laid on the exportation of corn. 2 W. and M. c. ix.

workshops at Salisbury and Woodstock. In reflecting on the various applications of these metals to agricultural, naval, military, mechanical, and œconomical purposes, we are immediately struck with their extensive utility and importance, and are absolutely lost in amazement, when we attempt to trace them through all their gradations and forms, from the cannon or the anchor to the lancet or the watch-spring. Though iron ore is known to be very plentiful in this kingdom, it is not possible to ascertain, with any accuracy, what proportion of the product is worked up, because it is not only intermixed with foreign iron, but is very commonly concealed under a foreign name. In the year 1719, when a bill “for extending the laws concerning the importation of naval stores from the British American Colonies,” was agitated, it was computed that *two thirds* of what was consumed in this kingdom, was imported from Sweden and Russia.* It appears, that on an average of ten years, our trade in this article with the Baltic may be reckoned at 27,500 tons, value 314,000l.

In the year 1749 another bill was proposed for encouraging the importation of bar-iron

* GEE, *Trade considered*, p. 16.

from America, in the course of which the spirit of monopoly descended to very shameful expedients, to prevent its taking effect. Among other things it was boldly asserted, that American Iron was of a quality very inferior to Swedish, though by the *Officer's Reports*, then presented to the House, it was shewn that various experiments made a few years before, in the King's dock-yards, had proved it in all respects of equal goodness. It was also urged, that if we withdrew from the iron trade of the Baltic, we must forego the advantages of importing their hemp and flax; but the event, as far as it was tried, did not justify such apprehensions.* The fact was, their fears were of a more selfish nature. The proprietors of our iron-foundries knew it was not for their interest that an event should take place, which would lower the price of the metal, and thus by a narrow-minded policy they attempted to sacrifice a public benefit to their own advantage. The bill, however, passed, but more, as it seems, from a dissatisfaction then prevailing between our court and Sweden, than from any patriotic motive. By the permission granted to import both pig and bar

* POSTLETHWAYTE'S *Commercial Dis.* Art. Naval Stores.

iron from America in British vessels duty free, no inconsiderable advantages have been given to our foundries over those of other nations,* which added to the superior dexterity of our workmen, and the large capitals employed, have secured us the market, even in countries whence we import the materials for this manufacture : it should ever be remembered, that if a duty upon raw materials be allowed in most cases to be prejudicial to the manufacture, it must on iron perhaps be more so than on any other commodity ; for being a principal article in naval stores, it is of the highest importance in such a country as this ; beside, as it may serve in almost all instances for ballast, &c. and is therefore of easy transportation, even the freight on such a merchandise ought to be very moderate.

While the aforementioned Bills were depending in Parliament, a general alarm was spread through the country, by reports of great waste and destruction of the woods in all those parts where Iron works were erected. POSTLETHWAYTE, writing in the year 1759, says, that “ Where Cord-wood had before been sold at 5

* The American iron mines have an advantage over those of Russia in their proximity to the coast ; for some of the most productive mines in Siberia are above 3000 miles from Petersburgh.

" and 6 shillings the Cord, it then sold at upwards of 12 or 14, and in some places was all consumed; it is necessary therefore," he adds, "to preserve our timber from these con-fuming furnaces, lest they at last lay hold of our Oaks."* This is reported to have been the case in Ireland also, where they have often been obliged to procure even building timber from Norway.† It is well known that the iron works in Mendip-hills had long since cleared away all the oaks in that forest, and that notwithstanding the successful adoption of Pit-coal in some of our most extensive works, woods are still preserved in many places for the supply of the foundries.‡

The use of wood in the iron works of France is very general, owing to the great scarcity of coal in that country, and yet it is a remarkable fact, that the provinces, where those manufac-

* *Commercial Interest of Great Britain*, V. I. p. 151.

[‡] The clamours of that day were increased by the self-interest of Wood, who made himself afterwards so well known in the Copper Coinage of Ireland. This man had a lease of all the mines on the Crown Lands of thirty-nine counties, whose furnaces were supplied with pit-coal; beside iron work in various parts of the kingdom. ANDERSON'S *Hist. of Commerce*, V. II. p. 303.

[†] CAMPBELL's *Polit. Survey of Great Britain*, V.II. p. 43.

ries are established, and especially Burgundy, supply the Metropolis with more than two thirds of its fuel.†

Great improvements have of late years been made in the process of every branch in this valuable manufacture. The use of coak in England instead of charcoal, though some are of opinion that it debases the quality of the iron, has been found to answer for many of the larger works, and the application of steam to some of the most laborious operations, such as the draining of coal, the supplying blasts to the furnaces, the raising the forge hammer, promises still further advantages.

The iron works in Colebroke Dale, are sup-

† NECKER's *Administrat. of Finance, &c.* V. I. p. 255. At la Chausade in the generality of Moulins, is an iron foundry, which during the late war furnished most of the extra anchors used in the Royal Navy of France. With half the labour there employed, the combined navy of France and Spain might have been supplied from such foundries as those of Colebroke Dale or Carron. At Moulins they excel in cutlery and in small works, but in general English goods of this sort have the preference even in the French markets; for it is a known fact, that English jewels and various toys and trinkets, *Bijouterie d'Angleterre*, are sold openly and avowedly as such at the *Palais Royal* at *Versailles*, *Fontainbleau*, and even within the hearing of his Majesty. TUCKER's Third Letter to Mr. NECKER, p. 45.

posed to be the most extensive in England, employing upwards of one thousand hands.
 “ The founders there earn from eight shillings
 “ to ten shillings and six-pence a week, and
 “ boys of fourteen years old, seven shillings, at
 “ drawing coal baskets in the pits.”* For pitcoal
 is here principally used in making the bar iron.

The neighbouring hills supply both in sufficient quantities, and every step in the process is performed on the spot, from digging the iron ore to the last finish of the manufacture. Nothing can convey to a stranger greater ideas both of the stock of raw materials, and the ingenuity of the workman in this singular spot, than the Bridge of cast iron, which now opens a communication between two populous sides of the Severn, and the waggon-ways paved with the same metal. The following picturesque remark will give a sketch of the scenery, and relieve the necessary dryness of the subject. “ Colebroke
 “ Dale is a winding glen between two immense
 “ hills, which break into various forms, being all
 “ thickly covered and forming most beautiful
 “ sheets of hanging woods. Indeed too beautiful
 “ to be much in unison with that variety of

* YOUNG’s *Annals of Agric. &c.* V. IV. p. 167.

“ horrors

“ horrors which art has spread at the bottom.
 “ The noise of the forges, mills, &c. with all
 “ their vast machinery, the flames bursting
 “ from the furnaces, with the burning of the
 “ coal and the smoak of the lime kilns, are
 “ altogether horribly sublime, and would unite
 “ well with craggy and bare rocks like St.
 “ Vincents at Bristol.”* The principal works
 belong to Mr. Derby, Mr. Wilkinson, Mr.
 Reynolds, and Messrs. Bancks and Onions;
 the last of these are the proprietors of a
 machine for boring cannon from the solid
 cast; another of which is erected at Willey, by
 Mr. Wilkinson.

It has been observed, that for many years
 no cannon has been cast in that part called the
 Dale Works, in which Quakers are employed;
 “ it being inconsistent with the principles of that
 “ peaceable sect, to make engines for the de-
 “ struction of their fellow creatures.”†

The

* YOUNG’s *Annals*, &c. V. IV. p. 168. See also a more
 particular account in the same volume, p. 343, &c. by
 E. J. HARRIES, Esq. of Henwood.

† Ut sup. p. 348. The only articles in which our
 iron manufactoryes seem to have suffered during the late
 war, were Nails and Axes, but it is said the American
 demand for these articles is now returning. Ut sup. p.
 158.

The great irregularities and doubts in our Mine Laws contributed very much to retard the progress of improvement, in the preparation and working up of COPPER, though it was known to abound in many parts of the kingdom, till the present century. Since that time it has been brought to great perfection, and applied to almost as great a variety of uses as iron, especially in domestic utensils, for which it is peculiarly calculated by reason of its malleability, flexibility, elasticity, and ductility.* The principal copper mines in Europe are those near the Hartz and at Misnia in Germany, in the Archbishopric of Saltzburg, in Bavaria, Württemburg, and Treves. In France, at Amiens, Abbeville, Rheims, Troyes, and Beauvais in many parts of Norway and Sweden, in the Dutchies of Parma and Placentia, near Brescia, and in Sicily.† Our own country produces

Iron imported according to the navigation-act, pays £ 2. 8. 6. a ton, and has a drawback on exportation of £ 2. 5. 2; in 1778, an additional 7s. 7d. If not imported according to the act, there is a duty of £ 2. 17. 10. a ton, and the drawback is £ 2. 14. 6. Iron wares manufactured not otherwise rated, or not prohibited, pay on importation 12s. 4d. and draw back on exportation 11s. 5d. The duty on iron wares manufactured in Ireland, is 14s. 3d. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a cwt. on importation.

* CAMPBELL's *Politic. Survey, &c.* V. II. p. 45.

† BEAUSOERE, *Etude de la Politiq.* Tom. I. p. 152.

great

great plenty of this metal, particularly in Cornwall, Staffordshire, Somersetshire, and Cumberland. The mines of Cornwall, which produce about a fifth part of the ore used in England, are computed to afford to the value of £ 200,000* annually; and in Anglesey, there is a mountain which has a bed of this ore more than forty feet in thickness, which supplies annually between six and seven thousand tons, and employs above forty furnaces in smelting it. Beside the pure native Copper, there is a species produced by precipitation in vitriolic springs in different parts of Europe. Those of Wicklow in Ireland, are very productive. It is said that one ton of iron bars laid on these springs, produces a ton and nineteen cwt. of Copper mud, and that each ton of the mud when smelted yields sixteen cwt. of the purest Copper, which sells for £ 10 a ton more than the Copper which is fluxed from the ore.† The Copper mills at

Namur

* *Philosophical Transactions*, V. XLVII. p. 502, V. LXVIII. p. 94, and 101; WATSON's *Chemical Essays*, V. I. ch. 6.

† BORLASE, *Nat. History of Cornwall*, p. 207. The subordinate manufactories of bras, verdigris, vitriol and pins have sprung from the improvements made in the copper branch. In the last it is truly astonishing to consider the many

Namur are perhaps the most extensive in Europe, and it was there that the water engine now in common use, was first applied in the year 1695, to put the ponderous machinery of these works in motion.* If we may rely on the representations given, the ancients far exceeded us in their manner of tempering and refining this metal; at present the advantages of dexterity in this branch, are not confined so particularly to one country as to make it an object of commercial jealousy. It is probable therefore that the interchange between France and England for commodities of Copper or Brass, will be comparatively small, and that they will continue to draw their supplies chiefly from their own materials and industry.†

many subdivisions of labour which are required to make an article, so proverbially insignificant. The engravers and bell-founders also employ great quantities of this metal.

* BEAUSOER, *Etudes de la Polit.* T. II. p. 154.

† We are said to export annually 2000 tons of vitriol. These works have lately much declined, by reason of the home consumption being supplied with the acid, as procured from the burning of sulphur. WATSON's *Chem. Essays*, V. I. p. 226.

HEMP, FLAX, LINEN.

HEMP and FLAX, considered as the materials of various kinds of fabrics, are of the highest consequence, and it may be observed of them, that they place the connection between agriculture and manufacture in a stronger light than any other produce of the soil.* There are few countries in Europe which do not grow them ; those round the Baltic, particularly Russia, produce such great quantities, that they may be truly styled their staple commodities.† The Flax cultivated in Germany is intirely worked up at home, for the exportation of the raw materials is strictly prohibited ; in consequence of this, the looms of that country supply France with a great proportion of her linen goods, though of late years much attention has been paid to the cultivation of Flax in the provinces

* We read of two officers in the Roman empire, called *Procuratores Linificii*, who superintended the two great storehouses at Ravenna and Vienne. From this circumstance much learned debate has been started concerning the state of the cultivation and manufactories of Hemp and Flax among the ancients.

† It is calculated that Russia alone imports into England Hemp to the amount of 400,000l. annually.

of Picardy, Brittany, Maine, Dauphiné, and Alsace. Flax also is plentifully produced in Flanders, especially between Ghent and Courtray, where perhaps it is an object of more delicate husbandry than in any other part of Europe. The conduct of the Flemish on this article affords a good lesson to monopolizers of every class; for though linen and lace be the great manufactures of their country, they permit the free exportation of Flax on this principle, that it encourages production and improves cultivation, and in the end renders the commodity both cheaper and better. The Flax in the province of Zealand is in high esteem, and is used by the Dutch in the fabric of their finer linens, though it may be remarked, that weaving and whitening are in general the only parts of the whole process performed to any great extent in Holland, and that most of the thread is spun in Germany and Prussia. The city of Bologna supplies Venice with both Hemp and Flax; and in Spain the provinces of Valencia, Grenada, and Murcia, furnish the great manufactories of sail-cloth and cordage established at Port Real, and the linen fabrics in some of the neighbouring districts. In this island, particularly in Scotland, great attention has been paid to this branch of culture, though much dispute has

arisen on the expediency of carrying such a measure to any length in South Britain.* It has been urged, that Hemp and Flax so much exhaust and impoverish the land, that it requires constantly to be manured, and to lie fallow every third year at least; that the plants are exotics and degenerate in this country, so that it is found necessary to recruit them very frequently: to this it has been added, that to encourage their culture would be against the interest of such a country as England, because it would most probably operate to the discouragement of the growth of *Wool*; moreover, that the same effect would be produced here as is in France by the substitution of vineyards for farms; for as it is reckoned, that one acre of Flax will set as many hands to work as twenty acres of Wool, it would in all probability too much reduce the price of land. The decrease of the importation of Irish Wool and Woollen Yarn into England about fifty years ago, it is asserted, was not owing, as generally surmised, to its being run to France and other countries, but to the great increase of the linen manufactures,

* See various Reports delivered to the House in 1773, when Parliament was petitioned for a further aid to the linen manufactures.

especially in Ulster, which, for their supply, had planted such quantities of Flax, that they had not sheep sufficient for their own markets, whereas not many years before they supplied themselves and the neighbouring provinces.*

Many of these objections, however, are disproved by experiment and observation. It has been found that there is much land in the north of England and in Scotland, which produces both Hemp and Flax as high and as strong as any imported from Riga; and that in some other parts, they are cultivated in as fine a state as in the southern climates, insomuch, that English Hemp has been known to fetch from 34 to 40s. the cwt. when what was brought from the Baltic stood at 28 to 35s. and this cultivation is carried on in rich and deep soils without any symptoms of impoverishment or degeneration; on the contrary, we are told of a prodigious large field in the isle of Axholm in Lincolnshire, which though sowed with Hemp, has not been fallowed for many years, and always produces

* A Letter to a Member of Parliament in 1732, cited by ANDERSON, *Hist. Comm.* Vol. I. p. 340. It is said that Flax, infused in water, communicates a poisonous quality to it, which gave rise to Stat. 33 Hen. VIII. c. xvii. forbidding its being watered in any running stream or common pond.

excellent crops; * this is also, in a great measure, the case at Spalding Moor in the East Riding of Yorkshire. † But be the fact as it may, surely there is room enough for very fair and extensive experiments of it, on some of the numerous moors and barren heaths of sand which disfigure this island.

The most reasonable objection seems to be the danger of diminishing the growth of Wool, by occupying much pasture land for these purposes, and consequently of sacrificing the interest of an ancient and valuable manufactory, to one which is by no means so productive or so natural to the people. Experience has now clearly proved, that the manufacture of *Linen* is very profitably established and carried on in countries where land and labour are cheap; on this account it has ever been the care of our Legislature to encourage it in Scotland and Ireland. By an Act passed in 1728, great advantages were granted to such as should introduce the Linen fabric into the Highlands, and since that time it has received occasional support by various premiums and bounties.

* *GEE on the Growth of Hemp and Flax.*

† *CAMPBELL's Politic. Survey, &c. Vol. II. p. 89.*

Their good effects are sufficiently shewn by the following statements :

The value of the Linen stamped for sale in Scotland, was

From 1728 to 1733	- - - £.	662,938
From 1747 to 1752	- - -	1,344,814
In 1754 alone	- - - -	506,816
In 1760	- - - -	522,153
In 1773	- - - -	462,751
In 1774	- - - -	492,055
In 1775	- - - -	561,527
In 1777	- - - -	710,633
In 1779	- - - -	551,148
In 1780	- - - -	622,187
In 1782	- - - -	775,098
In 1783	- - - -	866,983
And in 1784	- - - -	932,617

Thus it appears, that though there was a sudden defect in 1773, it recovered and has almost doubled itself within the short space of these last ten years! The statutes made in the years 1696 and 1697,* “ For encouraging the Linen manu-“ factories of Ireland, and for admitting the “ free importation of Flax and Hemp from that “ kingdom into England,” were the means of

* 7 and 8 W. III.

carrying over many French refugees, and laid the foundation of her fabrics in Linen and Cambric; and two other Acts in 1703 and 1704, which extended this permission in favour of Ireland to the English plantations in America *, still further promoted their increase. These privileges were not bestowed inconsiderately; they were the result of mature and solid reasoning on the natural and political situation of that island, and have fully answered their proposed end. Some years previous to the passing the first of these Acts, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, among other reflections on the subject, observes, that “ of all women, the Irish “ were the aptest and best calculated to spin “ linen thread well; who, labouring little in “ any kind with their hands, have their fingers “ more supple and soft than others of as poor “ condition amongst us. This,” he adds, “ may certainly be improved into a great manufac-ture of Linen, so as to beat down the “ trade of France and Holland, without crossing “ any interest of trade in England. Beside “ this, the soil and climate are peculiarly fit “ for the growth of Flax and the whitening of “ Linens.” † This has been amply verified

* 3 and 4 Ann. c. viii.

†. Miscellanies, p. 13. Ed. 1681.

in the progress which the manufacture has made during the present century. The particulars of this matter have been so frequently brought before the public of late years, that it would be needless to enlarge upon them here.* The following facts will be sufficient to shew how profitably such a branch of trade may be adopted, when circumstances like those in Ireland or Scotland, concur to favour the cultivation of its materials. It is calculated that an acre of land will bear from 3 to 6 cwt. of flax, which is worth 40s. a cwt. at the average therefore of 4 cwt. this will set the produce of each acre at 8l. The number of acres thus cultivated in Ireland is computed at 13,000. So that the amount of the whole produce is 104,000l. This produce is raised in its value eight times when in its manufactured state, which brings it to 832,000l. but it is said, that a quantity equal to one fifth of the raw materials grown in the country is imported annually, this by adding 170,000l. more, makes the whole annual amount of the linen manufacture upwards of one million sterling. A ton of flax is supposed to employ

* Lord SHEFFIELD *on the Irish Trade. Arrangements with Ireland considered; with the Reports of the Linen Committees, in 1773, and Vol. IX. Parliamentary Register.*

annually 40 persons, and from the foregoing computation it appears, that the quantity used is about 3125 tons, so that this manufactory employs upon the whole 125,000 hands. In Scotland about 1540 tons are annually worked up, which gives employment to 61,200 hands; thus the linen manufactures in both countries, may together be reckoned to employ 186,200 hands. From the superiority of wages it has lately been feared, that the newly erected cotton works in many parts of Ireland may materially injure the linen branch; for a workman will there earn from 13s. to 15s. a week, a lad of 13 years old 8s. or 9s. and at the spinning-jenny as much as 15s.—whereas at linen weaving the worker of fine goods can earn no more than 8s. 6d. and of coarse goods no more than 6s. 3d. a week. Girls also, who at flax spinning get only 2s. or 3s. a week, will earn in the cotton works from 9s. to 11s. But the properties of flax appear in a more striking point of view, when it is considered as the material of the *lace* manufacture. In Flanders where it has been, in this branch, carried to its highest perfection, they reckon that one pound only, which is worth from 4d. to 5d. will, when worked up, be raised to the value of 7000 florins, upwards of 600l.

which

which probably is as strong an instance of the lucrative effects of human ingenuity as can be produced in the case of any other raw material whatever.* And it has therefore been calculated, that if France were to exchange on equal terms, her wines for the lace of Brussels, she would give the produce of many thousand acres of wines for every single acre of flax †

By 17 Geo. II. ch. xxx. the affixing counterfeit stamps to foreign linens imported, in imitation of the stamps on Irish and Scotch linens, and exposing them to sale, as also the affixing counterfeit stamps to any linen manufactured in Great Britain or Ireland, and ex-

* A table exhibiting at one view the comparative price of *first materials* with their proportionately *improved value*, in every branch of manufacture and art, would be a curious and useful work.

† There is an excellent book on the subject of this chapter, by Mr. MARCANDIER, of which there is an English translation in 1764. I quote the translation from an opinion, that even adepts in the French language will read works like this, and all others which treat of agriculture, manufactures, or finance, to the best advantage in good English translations, because they must contain many terms of art and revenue, and a variety of political idioms which it is difficult to comprehend; for the same reason in matters of science also it is, in general, better to give extracts from foreign books in our own language.

posing the same to sale, will incur the forfeiture of the goods and a penalty of 5l. for each piece. The different duties on the importation of this article are principally regulated by 10 Ann. c. xix. 12 Ann. c. ix. and 7 Geo. III. c. lviii. and lxxii.

W O O L.

During the 12th and 13th centuries the cloth manufactories of the Netherlands were the most flourishing in Europe, but being ill supplied with materials at home, they carried on an extensive trade with this Island. To supply this great demand, a society of merchants, called afterwards the *Wool Staplers*, combined for the purpose of collecting the Wool in various parts of the country to convey it to the sea ports for exportation, and it appears that this branch of foreign traffic was for many years, not only permitted, but encouraged; indeed, it should seem that, strictly speaking, the first *legal* prohibition occurs as late as the year 1660, by which forfeiture of the goods and ship, and a penalty of 20s. for every sheep, and 3s. for every pound of wool exported, is incurred.* I am, neverthe-

* 12 Car. II. c. xxxii. § 3.

less,

less, aware that as far back as the reign of Edward III. temporary restraints had been laid, and that both James and Charles issued proclamations, and after them, the Long Parliament interposed its authority with this view;* it should also be remembered, that though a subsidy on the raw material was very common in earlier times, yet the first regular grant on the manufacture occurs in 21 Edward III. "This," says HALE, "was founded on reason and equity, for as the King had a custom of inheritance settled in him of Wools exported, and much of our Wool now began to be draped into cloth and thus exported, it was thought fit, that he should have his proportionate benefit of this commodity exported in *manufacture* as well as in *specie*."† It was in this king's reign also, that the woollen manufactory first gained a rooted establishment in this country. RYMER has preserved a letter of protection, sent by Edward in the year 1331, to a manufacturer in Flanders, to invite him and his family to settle in England;‡ and

* RYMER's *Fædera*, Tom. IV. fol. 744. Tom. XIX. fol. 155.

† HARGRAVE's *Law Tracts*, cap. xxvi. and cap. ix. of the third part of HALE's MS.

‡ *Fædera*, Tom. IV. fol. 496. For various regulations of Ed. III. in this article, see also Tom. IV. fol. 702.

and many other families we are informed followed their example. DE WITT, speaking of this event, observes, that before the removal of the weaving trade to England, the English were little better than shepherds; but this step was the foundation of her commercial glory, and the ruin of the Netherlands." *

It was then that our ancestors began to feel their real interest, and discovered that whilst men, women, and children were busied in working up the *fleece*, they were also fed with the *mutton*. Then our people multiplied, they acquired wealth and power, and left the Nobles of the land should forget the *fleece*, they were seated upon *woolsacks* in the Senate House. † Notwithstanding the increased demand for home consumption, which must necessarily have followed this event, we find that the duties from the foreign sale of raw wool amounted, even then, to 250,000l. annually. ‡ This strongly

* *Interest of Holland*, p. 27.
† *Moore's Considerations on the exorbitant Price of Provisions*, p. 42.

‡ *Memoirs of Wool*, V. I. p. 82.

illustrates an observation, that the market for this article in the rude beginnings of improvement is very seldom confined to the country which produces it; because being easily transported without any preparation, and affording materials for many manufactures, the industry of other countries may occasion a demand much beyond that of its native country.* The unjustifiable severity of our statutes against the exporters of Wool has been compared to the spirit of *Draco's* laws. The 8th Eliz. c. iii. is a disgrace to any penal code; it is however virtually repealed by the statute of Charles above-mentioned, which is itself also, with respect to the penalty, expressly repealed. But cruel and impolitic as such prohibitions may now appear, they might at that time have been necessary; for before such manufactories have arrived at a tolerable degree of perfection, fiscal law requires to be sanctioned with heavy penalties, in order to prevent the unprofitable exchange of fabrics, in return for raw materials.

At the close of the last century the practice of *owling*, as it was termed, that is smuggling the Wools of England and Ireland into France, was a subject of heavy complaint. †

* *Wealth of Nations*, B. I. c. ii.

† ANDERSON's *History of Commerce*, Vol. II. p. 126.

The unlimited extent of our market rendered the conduct of our own staplers inexcusable in this respect, and a very fit object of parliamentary control: but, after the restrictive clauses in 7 and 8 W. III. c. 28, it might naturally be expected, that such a step would be taken by the sister kingdom. An attempt to monopolize a branch of trade, by passing laws to limit its price in the market, is in effect little else than to bestow bounties upon smuggling. Statutes may pass and penalties may be inflicted, but it will never prevent materials of general demand from finding their way clandestinely to the most advantageous purchaser.* This the Venetians experienced in the 16th century, when they aimed at a monopoly of the raw silks of Cyprus at a stated price, and actually appointed officers to watch and register the exportations of that island, yet with all their care, the inhabitants contrived to smuggle immense quantities of this article to Marseilles, and various other French and Italian ports in the Mediterranean. † In the same manner and for the same reasons the Irish

* 12 and 22 Geo. II. in a great measure remedied this evil, and it was further relieved in 1778, and again in 1780 and 1781.

† MAUROCENI, *Historia Venetiarum*, p. 543, Edit. Argentor. 1692.

woollen trade found its way into France. It was carried to such an alarming length about thirty years ago, that it became a matter of very serious consideration. The advantages which France must derive by such a contraband trade are obvious, when it is understood that for many purposes, her own wool is too coarse and short in the staple, but being mixed in the proportion of two packs to one of Irish or English wool, it can be worked up very profitably into what is termed the best second cloths, which are those in most general use. It was then and has since been the received opinion, that no other mode of preventing this grievance, could be more beneficially adopted, than that of permitting the Irish to send their manufactured woollens to England, under a duty at importation, to be drawn back on exportation to foreign countries.* A proposed Bill "for preventing the smuggling of Wool," &c. has lately been the cause of general meetings in some of our coast counties, the results of

* The effect of the woollen trade of France on our market, at the beginning of this century, is exemplified by the following fact: When the plague raged at Marseilles, the demand of foreign countries for woollen goods were so large, that wools of both England and Ireland were insufficient to supply them. Jos. GEE, *Trade and Navigation, &c.* p. 67. POSTLETHWAYTE's *Commercial Interest, &c.* V. I. p. 363.
which

which are already before the public. The spirited resolutions of the meeting held in the county of Sussex, called forth a letter from Mr. JOHN ANSTIE, who maintains that the present laws are so defective as to want a thorough revision, and, that, although it is difficult in this branch so to regulate them, that they shall not impose restrictions on particular persons, yet he trusts, that such considerations will have no weight in decisions of Parliament *

I shall now proceed to state a few particulars respecting this valuable material and its manufacture. In point of quality the Wool of Spain claims the first rank, and of this what is called the *Escorial Fleece* is the finest and the dearest. It sells sometimes on the spot for 6 livres, about 5s. a pound, which is more by two livres than the average price of Spanish wool in France. The wools of Castille and Arragon, and the black wool of Saragossa, are also in high estimation. When next to Spain, England is allowed

* See *A Letter to the Land Owners, Wool Growers, &c.* in the County of Sussex, dated Devizes, Nov. 21, in the "Morning Chronicle," It was upon the result of an examination of Mr. ANSTIE and Mr. AFFLECK before a Committee of the House of Commons, and in consequence of their report, that leave was given to bring in the Bill.

to produce this article in the greatest perfection, it must not be understood in too general a sense; for there is scarcely any thing more variable in its price and quality than English wool. The fleeces in the neighbourhood of Ross, in Herefordshire, are extremely fine, and have been known to sell as high as 2s. 4d. the pound, though at other times they fetch as low a price as 1s.—they were lately at 16d. the pound. The South Downs produce wool from 9d. to 1s. 10d. the pound; this is also the average price of some of the fine forest wools, which when mixed with the Spanish, serve to make the second priced fine cloths. The wool near Bridgnorth and about the Wrekin in Shropshire, is in general bought at 1s. 6d. the pound, and this is usually the price of Lemanster wool. In many parts of Lincolnshire it is at 6d. in the West Country at 4½d. and on Romney Marsh, it has been known to sell at 3d the pound. In short, it would appear, upon a more particular investigation, that between the extremes of Herefordshire and Kent, there are all the various prices from 2s. 6d. to 3d. in the pound. A universal average through the kingdom therefore, as it is in many other cases, must be in this instance deceitful and unsatisfactory, and it has

accordingly been stated to be from 8d. to 1s. the pound. One observation, however, may arise from such a statement, namely, that the average price, since the reign of Ed. III. has fallen, for wool was then sold at about 2l. 16s. a pack, or 2½d. a pound: this has happened because our prohibitions on exportation, our grants of importation, duty free, from Spain, and our monopoly of the exportation from Ireland, all conspired to enlarge the market stock, notwithstanding the great increase of demand from the improved state of society, and the extention of our manufactures.* As the quality of an article, in a great measure, regulates its price, this also is found to be proportionally various in different parts of the kingdom. † It is unnecessary to enter largely into this matter. I shall only observe, that the wool of Herefordshire and Shropshire,

* SMITH's *Memoirs of Wool*, V. I. p. 6. 17. 44. V. II. p. 9. 54. 176. 182. Prohibited exportation has, in Portugal, a similar influence on the price of its gold and silver. N. B. The price of wool in very early times is easily ascertained, because it was common to pay the King's subsidy in this article. The average price in Ireland has lately been from 9d. to 14d.

† Wool in quantity also is remarkably uncertain, for it has been known, that 20 fleeces of fine wool have scarcely weighed more than one of a larger sort.

and

and some of the heath wools are preferred to mix with the Spanish, for the best superfine cloth, and that it is principally from the wool of Lincolnshire, Nottingham, Northamptonshire, and parts of Kent, that our worsted goods are manufactured. That of Lincolnshire, though coarser than the Kentish wool, being longer in the staple, is in great request for the Norwich manufactories, and it has been thought that both of them might be successfully substituted in the room of Spanish wool for making the chain of the finer cloths ; a matter which surely deserves some attention, when it is remembered how much the quantity of fine wool is diminished lately in Shropshire and many other parts of England, from the introduction of a large breed of sheep, by means of inclosures and artificial grasses. The Scotch wool, it is imagined, if it were not greased and tarred to preserve the animal, would, in many parts, equal the fineness of our Herefordshire fleeces. Spanish wool is purchased in England from 2s. 3d. to 3s. 9d. a pound, though the late average has been from 3s. 7d. to 4s. It is said that $\frac{9}{10}$ of what is used is of the quality from 3s. 2d. to 3s. 9d. a pound, and that a yard of broad cloth requires two pounds and a half of

this wool. France has never excelled in the growth of this article, but has always depended upon foreigners, for the materials of her best woollen manufactures. By the Family Compact, she imports the wool of Spain, free of all duty for ever, and it is to be feared that she is indebted to the flocks of Lincolnshire and Kent for many of those long combing fleeces, which are worked up at Amiens, Abbeville, and the various manufactories of Normandy, and Bretagne,* which she receives principally through the Low Countries.

The province of Berry, famous for a peculiar kind of Cloth which goes by its name, is said to be supplied with wool from sheep of its own growth, and we are lately told that M. D'AUBENTON, near Montbard, in Burgundy, has a breed of sheep whose wool is so fine as to be sold at five livres the pound. This gentleman is one of the principal promoters of a spirit which is now gone forth in France, for encouraging and improving the

* Amiens and Abbeville, in Picardy; Darnetal, Fes-champ, Caen, St. Lo, Alençon, Rennes, Bourg, and St. Brieux, in Bretagne, are the chief woollen manufactories, though there are many others of note in those provinces: they are, for the most part, employed on ratteens, serges, and fine cloths, some of which they profess to make entirely of Spanish wool.

growth of Wool : He is the author of a work called *Instruction pour les Bergers et pour les Propriétaires de Troupeaux*, which, though not so extensive as M. CARLIER's *Traité des Bêtes à Laine*, from its form and the simplicity of its style, is better calculated to have its intended effect. These are mentioned, as good antidotes to any despondencies which may arise upon hearing of such national exertions among our neighbours, for they prove that their countrymen are at present so very far behind us in the cultivation of sheep, and labour against such a variety of natural and political obstructions, that there can be little room for jealousy on our part. Much has been said of the lowness of wages and the cheapness of materials in this branch of French manufacture, yet it is very demonstrable, that both their very fine cloths and their coarse woollens are as dear as in England. The best cloths of Sedan, Louviers, and Abbeville, sell at twenty shillings the English yard, and they are generally thought to be of a slighter texture and less durable than our superfines. At Auxerre, Samur Macon, Grenoble, Vienne, Arles, and many towns in the province of Orleans, coarse woollen Serges are for their quality, found to be higher priced than the same

articles are with us : Their second cloths also, which do not excel ours of twelve shillings the yard, either in the texture or the dressing, are sold at Vervins, Fontaine, Chalons, and other parts of Champagne, and about Poictiers, from fifteen to sixteen livres four sols the yard : At Romantin indeed, in the generality of Orleans, there is a manufactory of white cloths, made with equal proportions of Spanish and Berry wool, which is in high estimation, and from certain local advantages, sends out its goods better finished, and at a more reasonable price. Of the preference given to our woollens before those of France, LORD SHEFFIELD has related a curious instance. "In the late war, when France granted a sum of money to Congress, for cloathing the American troops, Mr. Laurens, jun. was employed to provide it ; but instead of laying out the money in France, he went to Holland, and bought English cloths, and sent them to America. The French Minister complained, but Mr. L. justified himself by saying it was his duty to do the best he could with the money, and that the English cloths of equal price with the French, were much better."*

* *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*, p. 11.

In the preparation of our woollen cloths, and the manner of offering them to the market, the process in the north of England and in the west, is remarkably different. It may readily be conceived by a little reflection, how, not only the price of the commodity and its proposed quality, but the industry also, and even the morals of the workmen may be affected by this circumstance. Let us compare with such a view the state of the two manufactories ; though it must be confessed, that by the general assimilation of manners and customs, which has spread of late years into the remotest provinces, and among all ranks of life, the lines of contrast are gradually growing fainter.

In many parts of Yorkshire, the woollen manufactory is carried on by small farmers and freeholders, who both buy and grow wool, and whose wives, daughters, and servants spin it in the long winter evenings, and at such times as they are not employed in their farms and dairies ; the master of the family either sells this produce in the yarn market, or has it wove up himself. It is then milled, cleansed, and brought to market, but when sold there, he can be paid for no greater number of yards than the cloth will measure after having been well soaked in water. Thus all frauds in stretching, tentering, &c. are

effectually prevented. The persons who buy this cloth, generally act upon commission, at a very low rate; and afterwards get the cloth dyed, dressed, and finished. The whole in this manner passes through various hands independent of each other, and being thus independent, they are all rivals, and are animated with the same desire of bringing their goods to market upon the cheapest terms, and of excelling each other. Their journeymen likewise are little removed from the degree and condition of their masters, and know that the industry and frugality of a few years will enable them to set up for themselves. Thus they are generally moral, sober, and diligent, the goods are well made and cheap, and a riot or a mob scarcely known amongst them. In the West, this whole business is carried on by a very different process, and the effects are accordingly opposite. Here one person with a great stock and large credit, buys the wool, is master of the whole manufactory from the first stage to the last, and employs perhaps a thousand persons under him; these, many of them, work together in the same shop, consequently have opportunities to corrupt each other, and to cabal against their masters. They have little hope of advancing themselves by their industry, and therefore think it no crime to

get

get as much wages as possible, and too often reconcile their consciences to frauds on their master's property. It is needless to point out the other ill effects of such management; they have frequently made themselves sufficiently notorious in riots and insurrections.* I shall not enter into any particulars on either of these manufactorys, but cannot forbear adding one remark more before I quit the subject.

In a *Letter* signed A WOOLLEN DRAPER, we are told of above *five hundred* clothing towns in France, upon the authority of a List, published about six and twenty years ago.† Now admitting this to bear as strongly on the point as possible, if the writer really *be* that *Woollen Draper* which he would wish to *seem*, he cannot be ignorant of the insufficiency of such a statement alone, to establish any estimate. But I can take upon me to assert on my own observation and inquiries, that from some of the towns enumerated in his list, the scanty trade carried on in the year 1760, has totally vanished, that in

* As I never remember to have met with a clearer account of this well-known distinction between our northern and western Clothiers, I did not scruple to adopt it almost in the very words of a Pamphlet now become scarce, called *Instructions for Travellers*, by Dr. TUCKER.

† P. 14, and the List annexed to the *Letter*.

some others, particularly in Champagne and Soissons, the business is conducted on a very contracted scale, for the most part in a few private houses, and that in many places which formerly were famous for their fine cloths, the looms are now principally employed in the working of Serges, Etamines, and light Druggets. It must at the same time be confessed that new manufactories both of fine and coarse Woollens have been erected in that kingdom, and that some old ones have been extended; but numbers alone are an inadequate test in this matter; it may admit of a doubt, if we except Languedoc, whether the broad looms of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire do not annually send to market, almost as large a quantity of the very best cloths, as all the provinces of France. How long this may continue to be the case, is another question. On this score, the **WOOLLEN DRAPER** merits every commendation for the zealous and sensible manner in which he stands forth to call the attention of his countrymen and fellow traders to a point so closely connected with their future commercial welfare. To a person whose inquiries have never been directed to the subject, it is not easy to explain how wide an influence the state of our Woollen trade has on national prosperity. Falling on many other branches of manufacture,

an injury may be comparatively partial, and though perhaps severely felt for a time, by that class of artificers whose stock and skill are engaged, will not occasion much distress, beyond a certain neighbourhood and a particular rank of men : But *the Manufacture of the Fleece* is accompanied by such a train of connections and dependencies through which it both communicates and receives support, disperses employment and wealth among such a variety of departments, and is so undistinguishably united with our Landed Property, that it necessarily involves in its fate, the interests of the whole community, from the Yeomanry to the Throne. On the discussion therefore of an article so extensive and important in its consequences, we have no reason to doubt that the wisdom of the Legislature will be dispassionately exerted : That on one hand they will not suffer the prejudices of false patriotism or the low jealousies of trade to obstruct the measure, if it appear to be expedient, merely because it may confer equal and reciprocal advantages ; nor on the other, be prevailed upon by specious arguments and interested declamation, to run any risk of sacrificing the produce perhaps of more than half the looms in the West of England, to the unnecessary

unnecessary Porcelains of Worcester, or the ornamental Toys of Sheffield, Salisbury, and Birmingham.

GENERAL REFLECTIONS.

There is scarcely any point in POLITICAL ~~OECONOMY~~ which has been so variously discussed, as *the effect of the price of labour on Commercial Competition.** It should be observed, that the question of high and low wages is not to be determined merely by the pay of the workmen, but by the proportion which such wages bear to the prices of all other articles, either native or foreign, and by comparing the manufactured product also of different countries, with a view to discover at what average price the same goods can be equally well made in each. By such a mode of inquiry it will in general be found, that labour in a country of low wages is comparatively dearer, than where wages are high, and that consequently in most cases the rich country will be able to undersell the poor one, because its goods will more than compensate by their quality for any excess of price. It cannot be

* TUCKER's *Four Tracts*, Tract. I.—SMITH's *Wealth of Nations*, B. I. c. viii. Edit. 1786.

doubted,

doubted, that as “the liberal reward of labour
 “is the necessary effect, so is it the natural
 “symptom of increasing wealth;” for when the
 productive powers of labour and ingenuity are
 thus excited, industry must in all its departments
 become more refined, as well as more dextrous
 and active in its exertions. In a manufactory
 where the different processes are distributed to
 different workmen, each will in his distinct
 branch be more expert than if he were under the
 necessity of undertaking many different branches
 at once in order to gain subsistence. Such
 dexterity begets competition, and this necessarily
 reduces the price; “whereas in the country
 “of low wages, it is in the power of one wealthy
 “man, to monopolize the trade, and to set
 “what price he chuses on his goods.”* That
 the low price of labour will not command a
 market, may be shewn by the following instances: When the iron of Sweden arrives in
 England, it has paid duties of export, import,
 and the expence of freight; to this must be
 added the costs of carriage to and from the
 places of manufacture, the price of the labour
 there bestowed upon it, and the duty to which
 it is liable on its return home under this new

* *Four Tracts*, p. 34.

form;

form ; yet with all this accumulated charge upon it, we are able to undersell the Swedes themselves in their own market ; and every attempt on their part at competition has proved hitherto ineffectual. It is exactly the same case with the Bay Yarn of Ireland, which, notwithstanding all the charges of importation, conveyance and manufacture, is worked up here and returned cheaper to the Irish market, than if it had been manufactured at home. It is not, as some have lately asserted, the higher price of our labour which has given the French an advantage over us in the Levant and Portugal trades, but rather the indifference of our manufactures, and their unwillingness to accommodate their fabrics to the taste of those markets, in which, by reason of the climate, cheap cloths of a slight texture will ever be preferred to such as are more durable. After all, it may be doubted whether it would be worth while for our clothiers to attempt the recovery of this trade, at the risk of sacrificing a better ; for every loom employed in the weaving of Druggets, must occupy materials and labour which might be more profitably applied in the working of broad cloths ; add to this, that the same competition which would be serviceable in higher branches, by rendering the goods cheap, must here

here be prejudicial, because the original low price of the commodity, would sink the necessary reduction of profits beneath the merchant's consideration. An effort made at Penryn, in Cornwall, about 30 years ago, proved unsuccessful for want of proper encouragement, and almost ruined the patriotic projector.* Ireland indeed by being admitted to the advantages of the Methuen-Treaty, might in time, perhaps, be enabled to supplant France in the Drugget trade. But the circumstance of being undersold is not the only ground of apprehension for the safety of trade, with those who draw their arguments from a comparison between the value of labour in different countries. The danger of emigration has been largely insisted upon, and fears have been suggested that manufactories will be transferred from a dear country, to one where the means of subsistence are cheap. It would be loss of time to shew the fallacy of such a supposition, and the absurdity of conceiving

* I will not suppose so little virtue to be in that part of England, as the Author of *Propositions for improving the Manufactories, &c. of Great Britain*, in 1763, would insinuate, when he says, "this gentleman was almost ruined, " because he thought it his duty to vote against the present " representatives of the borough of Penryn, at the last " general election." p. 32.

that artificers of any class would voluntarily exchange high wages for low, or, in other words, would quit good provisions and comfortable habitations, for meagre fare and wretched hovels. In fact, the high price even of the necessaries of life, has seldom been injurious to the progress of industry, nay in some instances it has been the means of calling forth new and successful exertions of labour and skill, and has led to very important discoveries in Arts and Manufactories. It was when the Piedmontese were oppressed by the taxes and exactions of the SFORZAS, who for some years persisted in heavy assessments of their harvests, and their markets, that they first carried their fabrics of silk to a degree of refinement and expedition, by the introduction of mechanism into some parts of the process, that no European country was able to enter into competition with them.* It is not difficult in short

* MURATORI, Dissert. VII. Tom. III. It is through them we are indebted to this circumstance, perhaps, for LOMBE's stupendous Machine, on the river Derwent, near Derby. He procured a model of it in Piedmont, by working under the disguise of a common Weaver.—By 5 GEO. II. c. viii. SIR T. LOMBE obtained 14,000l. as a reward for this service to the Silk Manufactory. The Machine contains 26,586 wheels, and 97,746 movements, which work

hort to conceive, that, in a state where the balance between the prices of labour and of wages is left to regulate itself, and is never made the object of civil policy, the rate of common subsistence and of the conveniences of life may be so low as to prevent any improvement in manufactures, if not entirely to exclude them. In opulent countries superior skill may often countervail the effect of high wages. This is obvious in all those articles where labour and materials are the least part of the value, and may be exemplified in most of the articles in the warehouses of Manchester and Birmingham.

A want of taste and variety in their fabrics was formerly the general complaint against our English manufacturers, and they were on that account frequently supplanted by their neighbouring rivals, the French, whose accommodating invention was continually devising new forms and patterns of goods, and studying textures suited to the taste and climate of their various customers ; but of late years a total revolution has been effected in our manufac-

work 73,726 yards of organzine silk thread every time the water wheel goes round, which it does thrice in a minute. Its erection in this country was considered as such an injury to Piedmont, that an Italian artist, it is said, was sent over to England to assassinate the proprietor.

tures; for while in some of them, men of scientific and liberal minds have, by a series of well-conducted experiments, produced new forms and combinations of materials, others have bestowed upon them such variety, strength, and beauty of workmanship, that they are distinguished by a decided preference in almost every market. This is the case in Switzerland, with respect to our cottons, woollens, and various articles of household furniture, our finer works in iron and steel, the classical productions of our *English Etruria*, and the long catalogue of toys and trinkets, notwithstanding the vicinity of France, and the boasted cheapness of her labour.* It is still more pointedly the case in America, for when that country had contracted a debt of four million sterling, to the merchants of this island, for accumulated stores of British manufacture, they attempted to seek supplies in their own industry, and in the trade of France and Holland; but what has been the consequence? after many fruitless attempts to supersede the use of our manufactures, they have at last chosen to become our customers again, because, as their merchants confess, our fabrics are better and cheaper than those of other coun-

* TUCKER's *Third Letter to Necker*, p. 39, 41.

tries, and this they think it for their advantage to do, though (as it hath been observed) “ at an expence of 40 per cent. at least dearer than they might have done had they continued their allegiance ; ” it appears also that even in the late war, such was the preference given to our cotton manufactures, that the Manchester traders could have found employment for many thousand additional hands.*

Examples might easily be multiplied, if it were necessary, to shew the fallacy of conclusions, in favour of the manufacturing interest, drawn from the low price of provisions and labour. Our sister kingdom would furnish many ; for there, notwithstanding the patriotic bounties of the Dublin Society, and a great variety of parliamentary aids, British manufactures of almost every sort, under the disadvantages of Freight, Duties, Land Carriage, and Commission, are able successfully to compete with Irish goods in their own market. The more labour and ingenuity is exerted in any manufacture, the stronger will these principles be found to operate on the competition in favour of the rich country. Timber and metals

* Lord SHEFFIELD's *Commerce of the American States*, p. 28.

may be procured more readily, and purchased cheaper in the forests of Norway, and at the mines of Siberia; but trace these materials through the whole progress of their fabrication in different countries, the most advantageous market will be found among people who are rich and flourishing, whose artificers more than compensate by their dexterity and expedition for the advanced price of their wages. The tedious and awkward process of undivided labour, a necessary effect of slender capitals, must shrink from such a competition, nor presume to oppose any negative or partial benefits to be derived from poverty, to that spirit of enterprize, that habitual industry and skill, which are in opulent kingdoms excited, cherished and improved, by the animating influence of large Demand, the security of Stock, the unimpeded circulation of Capital, high Credit, and extensive Correspondence.

It is in such countries, that the happy effects of liberal reward are exemplified in a variety of inventions, conducive to the real comforts of life, and in works of ingenuity and taste, which innocently add to the elegancies of society: even exotic manufactures, under such circumstances, will be transplanted and carried to maturity, with comp-

ratively less care and expence than foreign vegetables : another country may indeed, in some articles, enjoy certain local and natural advantages, against which competition would be impolitic, and in such a case there is no doubt, greater benefit would arise by becoming her customer, than by wasting capitals in extravagant projects, which might be very productively employed in native manufactories. “ It would be an unreasonable law to prohibit the importation of all foreign wines, merely to encourage the making of Claret and Burgundy in Britain,”* and in this instance it might be for the interest of a country to be undersold by foreigners in her own market ; but I cannot agree to make so general an application of this rule as some writers have done, or to subscribe to that unqualified position, that whenever a manufactory cannot stand the test of competition, the sooner it is abolished the better : great allowances should be made for the periodical derangements to which all artificial systems are liable, nor are our fabrics of silk and cotton to be immediately abolished, though they may not enjoy that uninterrupted train of success, which usually attends a manufacture supplied with native

* *Wealth of Nations*, B. IV. ch. ii.

materials. Had such policy been pursued, the wealth of *Coventry* had never been added to the general stock,* nor *Paisley* have supplanted the silks of *Spitalfields*, or supplied (as is known to be the case with that manufacture) most countries in Europe with its gauzes. The materials of the cotton manufactory are entirely of foreign growth, but being estimated, as every manufactory ought to be, in proportion to its power of improving such materials, and according to its demand of skill and labour, there are few which can claim a preference. It may be doubted, whether, in any branch of business, larger capitals are at present embarked than in this; yet it is not many years since doubts were entertained, how far it might be expedient to encourage a manufacture which seemed so likely to intrench upon the interests of our woollen trade; † and the same bad policy

* The average annual amount of ribbands manufactured at that place is about 500,000l. KEYSER in his Travels, in the year 1750, having spoken of the difficulties with which the silk manufacture of this country long struggled, adds, "but now in Italy itself the silks of England are most esteemed, and bear a greater price than those of Italy; so that at Naples when a tradesman would highly recommend his goods, he protests they are right English." *Collection of Travels*, V. II. p. 276.

† *An Examination of the Commercial Principles of the late Negotiation*, 8vo. p. 137. 1762.

which

which has oppressed many other branches, was soon after exerted upon this, by subjecting its materials to a duty on importation. Nothing but that superiority of skill and capital, which characterizes the trade of England, and enables it to maintain the market under many disadvantages, could have supported the fabricks of Manchester thus taxed, against the spirited exertions of the Rouen manufactory, conducted by an English artist, * and assisted in its capital by large periodical supplies from Government. That the cotton manufactory has, in some measure, been injurious to the woollen branch cannot be disputed, but whether this ought to be considered as a *universal* injury, may admit of doubt; such an inference cannot surely be drawn from any influence it has had in the neighbourhood of its settlement, either in England or Ireland, nor from its general effects on our national wealth and population. † But as a proof

* Mr HOLKER. Two of ARKWRIGHT's Mills are now erected in the neighbourhood of Rouen. The judicious bounty of OUR KING, to the newly erected Cotton-works, at Eton, is worthy of grateful remembrance.

† It is computed, that in Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire, above 500,000 persons,

proof to how great a length the contracted jealousies of trade may be carried, we have heard even the Linen manufactory exclaimed against, as an exotic. About fifteen years ago, when a bill was proposed for its encouragement, the zealous advocates for the woollen trade were not content to oppose the Bill on what might have been admitted as tenable ground, but attempted to convert a *political objection* to the expediency of the measure into a *physical impediment* to the production of the materials necessary in this fabric. If it be allowed to argue from our home consumption, we may question whether under proper regulations our Linen manufactory might not be rendered as productive as our Cotton; for it has been computed, that we afford at present a market to Ireland in this article, to the amount of one million sterlings annually, and that although four fifths of this

persons, including women and children, are employed in the cotton branch. In Ireland, beside the establishments near Dublin, there are now large Cottonworks in the county of Kildare. Their rapid progress may be inferred from this circumstance, that a solitary cottage on the Bog of Allen, in the year 1780, is now converted into a flourishing town. *SHEFFIELD's State of Ireland*, p. 197.

importation

importation be for home consumption, we still find employment for our own manufactories to an equal if not a greater amount.* Men who suffer themselves to be thus governed by the selfish and illiberal principle of monopoly, will find perpetual occasion for jealousy and alarm, since every benefit conferred upon another branch of trade, must seem to operate as an injury to their own. Each class has some partial view to gratify for its professional advantage; that which will suit the Manchester trader may prejudice the merchant of Leeds, and the gratification of both these will raise an outcry in Birmingham, and Staffordshire. But it is not the flourishing or the declining state of any particular manufacture, that necessarily implies general ruin, or that ought to impede a measure salutary to the rest. Minds truly patriotic are swayed in their operations by nobler motives, and aim at objects more extensive and important than the gratification of private interest.

It should be the object of a commercial country to observe a scrupulous impartiality in the extension of its care to every useful branch

* A report of the late board of trade, relative to the linen manufacture in July, 1780. SHEFFIELD'S *State of Ireland*.

of trade, and to distribute its bounties and protections in such an equal manner among all classes of manufactures, that they may have no private or detached interest, but growing up together in due subordination, may form one compact system of national industry.

F I N I S.

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